THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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Inside

"Right To Self-Determination" Affirmed

PUERTO RICANS ATTACK 51st STATE PROPOSAL



High-rise apartments for American tourists (background) contrasts with the squalor of shanty huts in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican people have overwhelmingly rejected President Ford's lame-duck proposal to make the Caribbean island the 51st state.

(New York, N.Y.) - Widespread outrage and indignation have erupted throughout the island of Puerto Rico and in Puerto Rican communities in the U.S. in opposition to President Gerald Ford's lame-duck proposal to make the small Caribbean island America's 51st state.

Here in New York, representatives of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) condemned President Ford's initiative, made without the consultation of any leading Puerto Rican official, as "a violation of the principle of self-determination," and strongly reasserted the popular view that the question of the sovereignty of the Puerto Rican nation must precede any discussion of status.

In making his sudden New Year's Eve announcement, President Ford totally reverses and negated this process. Under his proposal the U.S. Congress would first draft and pass statehood legislation; the Puerto Rican government would then draft an acceptable state constitution; and finally, a plebiscite would be conducted to determine if the Puerto Rican people wanted statehood.

In a statement to THE BLACK PANTHER, PSP representative Jose Laluz said:

"The announcement by President Ford constitutes a violation of the principle of self-determination of peoples to which this country subscribes in its Declaration of Independence and in its Constitution.

"It also reveals the colonial relationship between the U.S. and Puerto Rico when it proposes to resolve the status question

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EDITORIAL

PEANUT COSTUMES AND "NIGGER JOBS"

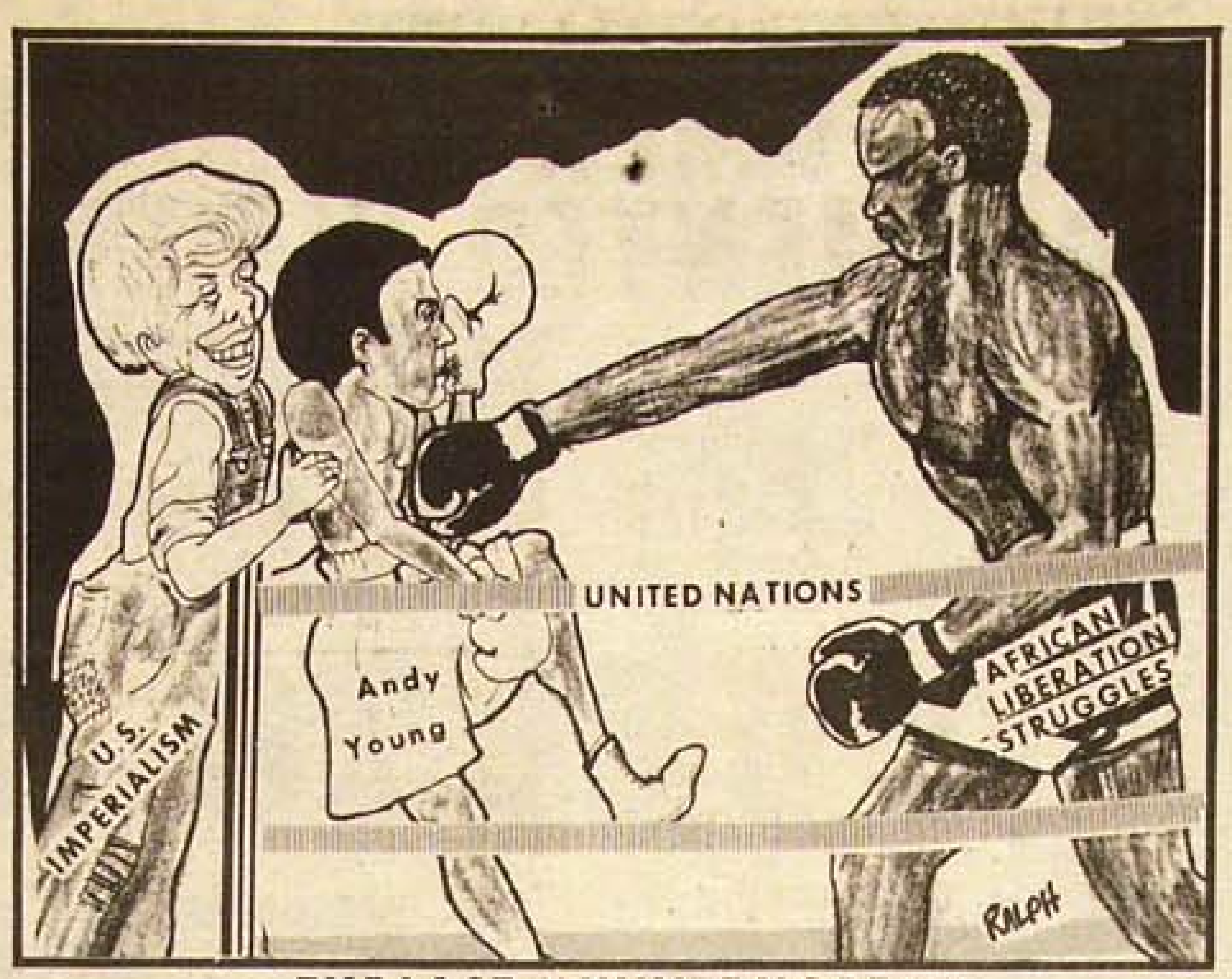
Are the people so overwhelmed with Jimmy's "hint of a Kennedy" grin during the glory of his Bicentennial summer campaign still donning their peanut costumes to celebrate the coming of America's latest "gift of salvation" now that Carter's Cabinet and top advisory positions have been filled? We hope not.

"Mr. Establishment Outsider," the man who promised to bring those fresh new faces to Washington sure turned out to have a rotten memory — as well as a rotten sense of humor, if he was trying to be cute — in selecting his Cabinet picks. On the whole, Carter's top picks are a rehash of the same old rusty-crusty bureaucrats we've seen before, in all-too-many cases exactly the same, who are no more interested, willing or capable of delivering vitally-needed services to Black and poor people than the KKK's "Grand Dragon." (And if you check the books, the "Grand Dragon" — "Exalted Cyclops," or whatever other animal/beast they choose to worship — probably belongs to some of those same all-White clubs Attorney General-designate Griffin Bell belongs to.)

Take "Cy" Vance, "our" next secretary of state, for example. (See article, page 5.) This guy has worked with the hardcore in protecting the interests of U.S. imperialism, yet is presented to us as an alleged reborn "liberal."

Carter's supposedly staunch stance toward "bringing morality back to government" didn't prevent him from selecting Bert Lance, a longtime banker friend who has loaned Jimmy's peanut business $4.7 million over the last 17 months, as director of the Office of Management and Budget.

And when the "big-name" niggers didn't go for the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) stereotypes Carter offered — didn't you know HUD and HEW are "nigger jobs"? — Pat Harris, a Black Washington attorney took HUD. Perhaps Ms. Harris, — whose grandparents we are told were slaves, but then again how many Black people's grandparents weren't slaves somewhere down the line? — can achieve some success for "her people," but the fact that she resigned from her job as dean of Howard University's law school in 1969 rather than deal with demonstrating students sure isn't a good sign. □



THE LAST "WHITE HOPE?"

Letters to the Editor

PA. PRISONER INSPIRED BY "BLOOD IN MY EYE"

Greetings Comrades,

After reading "Blood In My Eye" for the third time, I've yet to fail to conclude my reading with a growing anger that implores me to hate those subhuman motherfuckers who murdered our beautiful and beloved brother, George (Jackson).

I can definitely relate to George's feelings, being confined to the nothing of a single cell for 23 hours per day. I've experienced the same situation many, many times, as I'm presently doing. But they can't break me either; I utterly refuse to be broken. I'm too much of an individual. I'd like to share a poem with you that I wrote while in the Behavior Adjustment Unit.

THE BEHAVIOR ADJUSTMENT UNIT

Seclusion. . . .An eight by ten cage-dingy, buff colored walls
covered with sperm, spit, snot, shit, blood. . . .graffiti that
testifies to the aberrant minds and desolate souls which
exist, agonize, dwell; matured hatred in the shapes of men
remanded to this human contusion called The Behavior Adjustment Unit.
An infraction that only a mechanical man programmed with a
hillbilly's computerized, mechanical head could adhere to-BOY!
Rules that proclaim: you're not a man Nigger! Rules that reflect upon
the constitution like shit paper-BOY! Rules with as much meaning and
value as The Behavior Adjustment Unit!

Cement floors littered with the carcasses of cockroaches, bedbugs,
lice, mice embryos, vomit, and blood—always blood. A toilet
with the personality of you-name-it disease, a connecting sink,
a rust covered bunk that caters to the elite bed-bugs
made of uneven slats of metal so constructed as to be an advocate
of insomnia, a lingering smell of decay and piss in this unit
of rehabilitation—The Behavior Adjustment!

Muffled sobs and terrified screams drown out the soft scurrying
of famished rats. A mountain grown Pig stomps out his rounds with
a loud jingle of keys and an enlarged jaw impacted with red-man.
His night-stick tightly clasped. The Behavior Adjustment Unit!

Rehabilitation! A goddamn joke. No smiles, only silence and hate—
the ultimate product of that blind, sadistic bitch, that ghetto
fucking whore called JUSTICE! The Behavior Adjustment Unit!

In the struggle,
Norvell Sherard
Drawer R, State Correctional Institution
Huntingdon, Pa. 16652

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COMMENT

Whatever Happened To The Black Panther Party?

By Elaine Brown, Chairperson, Black Panther Party

"Everyone bleeds," says Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party in the following, concluding portion of "Whatever Happened to the Black Panther Party," a penetrating analysis on the current status of the revolutionary movement in America.

In seven preceding segments, Elaine has followed the growth and development of the Black Panther Party through 10 long — and often tumultuous — years of struggle and sacrifice, of police assaults and attacks of all sorts, (the "Panthermania" phenomena, the Cleaver defection, etc.) as the young Black group strove, through "service to the people," to vanguard a new, militant movement for freedom and liberation.

In this week's conclusion, which follows, Elaine answers the question raised in the article's title: "The Black Panther Party is alive and well and living all over America."

(Copies of the complete text of "Whatever Happened to the Black Panther Party?" can be obtained upon request by writing to the Black Panther Party, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621.)

CONCLUSION

WHAT'S LEFT OF THE LEFT
Infantile Leftism

When a Black man named Bill Boyette (an Oakland businessman) was approached as head of a Black, retail liquor dealers organization, to provide contributions (however small, but regular) to programs that served the poor Black community, as a return on what they owed, Huey Newton told them that the entire community would unite, including them. He said all the victims, those that suffer more and those that suffer less, would have to get married, even if it were a shotgun wedding. He said there would be no more stars, no more posters, "everyone bleeds."

This concept, so succinctly put, indicated another aspect of how

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Strong Black woman inmate.

OKLAHOMA WOMEN'S PRISON

"For The Women Left Behind Who Are Helpless"

(Oklahoma City, Okla.) - In a letter to THE BLACK PANTHER, a woman formerly confined to the Women's Treatment Facility here has blasted the blatantly racist and incompetent administration of the federal women's prison.

The letter, detailing the abuses suffered by women prisoners, is reprinted as follows:

"In order for society to have some insight of what is happening at the Women's Treatment Facility (WTF) here in Oklahoma City, I feel some investigation should be made. . .

"The federal budget and taxpayers are paying unskilled, unqualified people to supervise as counselors, superintendents, classification officers and security officers. Watching their operations during my stay there, these are some of the things I have observed:

• "Trust Funds For The Women: When someone receives a money order or check, they are never informed about getting any money unless the sender writes or tells you about it. You never sign for a money order or check. You are never give a balance of your trust fund.

• "Classification: To my knowledge, paperwork is and never has been on time.

• "Counselors: If a person is young and pretty, they will get full cooperation from the counselors.

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"BREAK DE CHAINS OF LEGALIZED U.S. SLAVERY"

N.C. WOMEN'S PRISON MOVEMENT DOCUMENTED IN NEW BOOK

(Durham, N.C.) - *Break de Chains of Legalized U.S. Slavery* is the title of a recently published book of essays, poetry and drawings by 10 inmates of the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women (NCCCW) in Raleigh where, since June, 1975, inmates have been waging a courageous struggle to end the oppressive, racist and sexist conditions they are forced to endure.

Published by the North Carolina Women's Prison Book Project here, *Break de Chains* is a collection of the political beliefs and thoughts of some of the women who have been active in the NCCCW struggle—"the turning point for them—when they demonstrated to be treated and recognized as human beings."





Scenes from the June, 1975, rebellion at the North Carolina Women's Prison.

National attention was focused on the North Carolina women's prison from June 15-19, 1975. Initially, the predominantly Black and poor prisoners at NCCCW held a peaceful demonstration to protest the brutal working conditions in the prison's laundry.

However, they were met with vicious retaliation by the prison administration which called in state police to subdue the protest. As a result, numerous women were severely beaten, and those considered the leaders of the protest were transferred to the men's prison at Morganton where they were placed in solitary confinement.

The articles and poetry in *Break de Chains* — whose contributors include Anne C. Willett, Marjorie Marsh, Tarishi Maisha (Shirley Herlth), Suzan Stuart, Alice Wise, Bessie Bouler, Rejois Bouler, Ellen Amana Porter, Greta Gordon and Jessie Taylor — were written between June, 1975, and June, 1976.

According to a press release issued by the North Carolina Women's Prison Book Project, "The women not only describe the protest and the prison itself, but the strength and political awareness they gained from their very courageous stand." (Many of the writings have appeared in previous issues of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

One of the articles in *Break de Chains* is a well thought out proposal written by Marjorie Marsh and Anne Willett to the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the state Commission on Civil Rights. The proposal outlines a number of needed changes at NCCCW in the areas of staff, community relations, health, educational and vocational programs, discipline, visiting and parole.

Reflecting on what the NCCCW

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Rules For "The Hole" At N.C. Women's Prison

The following are the actual instructions to prison guards regarding the treatment of prisoners placed in isolation, or "the hole," at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women in Raleigh.

1. No Clothing: (this includes dress, bra, panties, etc.)
2. No mattress, pillow, or linen: (sheet, blanket, towel, washcloth, pillowcase, etc.)
3. No personal articles (toothbrush, deodorant, soap, etc.)
4. No cigarettes or matches.
5. Cut off water in cell.
6. Make sure that everything that goes into the cell, comes out of the cell — especially important if you enter the cell. It is best to remove pens and other objects from pockets before entering cell. At meal times make sure all cups, plates, etc., are counted before going into the cell and after it is removed. No forks, spoons, cup lids or knives should go into the cell.
7. The attendant should observe the inmate during mealtime closely. Make sure all food is eaten or returned. Make sure that the inmate does not stuff the mouth so full that she could choke



Inmate in "strip cell."

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21 PAST, PRESENT U.S. OFFICIALS NAMED IN $100 MILLION B.P.P. LAWSUIT

The following is the conclusion of a six-part series on the unprecedented $100 million class action lawsuit filed on December 1, 1976, by the Black Panther Party against the FBI, CIA, IRS (Internal Revenue Service) and other federal agencies for their illegal, systematic efforts to destroy the Black Panther Party.

In the first five parts of the series, the specific charges detailed in the lawsuit regarding harassment and assassination of BPP members; federal agencies' incitement and creation of violence by individuals and groups against the Party; use of agents and informants to discredit the Party; and the sabotage and discrediting of Party programs were discussed.

This week's article focuses on "Suppressing Free Expression and Misrepresenting the Party" and other abuses directed against the Black Panther Party at the highest levels of U.S. government.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the existence of the Black Panther Party, its leading members have been in demand as speakers at conferences and on college campuses. Fearing the popular influence and organizing ability of the Party, federal officials, or agents acting under their direction, contacted colleges, universities and other institutions where BPP members were asked to speak and urged them to cancel the engagements. "When friendly persuasion" did not result in the cancellation of the engagements, the lawsuit explains, officials of these institutions received anonymous telephone calls from federal agents warning them of violence if BPP members were allowed to speak.

Federal attempts to suppress the Party's right to free expression did not end here. Agents have threatened BPP members or their families with death or injury in order to prevent the Party's ideology and philosophy from reaching large masses of people.

In April, 1967, the BPP began publishing its official organ and nationally distributed weekly newspaper, THE BLACK PANTHER. Acting on orders from high-ranking federal officials, agents sought to suppress the publication and circulation of THE BLACK PANTHER by sabotaging local distribution offices; destroying several shipments of the paper, *"vandalizing racks carrying the newspaper; instigating arrests of street vendors of the newspaper; pressuring commercial airliners that transport the paper nationally to charge a higher rate than that normally charged other organizations shipping similar printed matter,"* the lawsuit explains.



The unlawful obstruction of the publication and the circulation of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper was a major element of the federal police campaign against the Black Panther Party.

In addition, the U.S. Post Office charged higher postage rates for mailing paid subscriptions for THE BLACK PANTHER than that charged similar publications.

The government has further sought to misrepresent and distort the Party by providing "friendly sources" at local radio and television stations and newspapers throughout the country with "half-truths," "out-right fabrications" and "false and harmful stories" about Party leaders and programs. Also, the

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THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

January 6, 1773

On January 6, 1773, Massachusetts slaves petitioned the state legislature for freedom. There is a record of eight such petitions filed but rejected or never answered during the Revolutionary War period.

January 5, 1804

On January 5, 1804, the Ohio legislature enacted the first of the Black Laws, which restricted the rights and movements of Black people in the North. This, in effect, often meant no voting and property rights. Several Northern states passed Black Laws, including Illinois, Indiana and Oregon, which had anti-immigration clauses incorporated into their state constitutions.



GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER

January 5, 1943

Dr. George Washington Carver, who died on January 5, 1943, was called the "Savior of Southern Agriculture." Almost single-handedly during his lifetime he revolutionized agriculture in the Deep South. From a small laboratory on the campus of Tuskegee Institute, Carver was responsible for the creation of numerous products from the once-neglected peanut. From the peanut, Carver extracted instant and dry coffee, bleach, paper, ink, synthetic rubber, plastics and many other products. After experimenting with soy beans, he produced flour, breakfast food and milk. From the sweet potato he created over 100 products. However, Carver's major contribution was demonstrating the use of science and scientific techniques in improving the land and diversifying the foundations of the Southern economy, which had become over-dependent on cotton. For his unparalleled accomplishments, Dr. Carver was named a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1916, and in 1923 he was the recipient of the NAACP's prestigious Spingarn Medal.



CYRUS VANCE (inset, in suit as Army secretary in 1962) directed the assault by U.S. troops to crush the Black rebellion in Detroit in 1967.

CARTER SECRETARY OF STATE HEADED U.S. TROOPS INTO DETROIT, WASHINGTON, D.C.

CYRUS VANCE: WAR HAWK COMES HOME TO ROOST

Washington, D.C.) — Amid the uproar over Jimmy Carter's selection of several of his Cabinet members from the elite, powerful Trilateral Commission, his nomination of racist Atlanta appeals court judge Griffin Bell as attorney general-designate and the resulting furor over Bell's membership in several all-White clubs, exposure of other controversial appointments by the slick Georgia peanut farmer has been virtually neglected—particularly that of Cyrus Vance.

Although many Blacks know little about the next U.S. secretary of state, Vance is no stranger to the Black community.

In July, 1967, Cyrus Vance was in the streets of downtown Detroit, overseeing the four-day assault by U.S. paratroops and national units aimed at crushing the popular Black rebellion there.

In 1968, Vance headed the 9,000 U.S. federal troops then President Johnson sent in to put down the spontaneous Washington, D.C., rebellion that followed the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King.

"CY"

Of course, "Cy" — as he is called in the prestigious New York law firm in which he is a partner and on the board of directors of IBM, Pan American Airways, the Rockefeller Foundation and the *New York Times* — has the proper military background as one of the key architects of the Vietnam War.

Vance entered the government in 1957 as a lawyer for the Senate Military Preparedness Subcommittee. He served in the Kennedy administration as general counsel for the Department of Defense from 1961 to 1962 and as secretary of the Army from 1962 to 1963.

Between 1964 and 1967, Vance served directly under war hawk Robert McNamara as deputy secretary of defense, the second highest civilian role in the Pentagon.

He was in on key Vietnam War decision-making at every stage — documented in the *Pentagon Papers* — including the infamous Gulf of Tonkin "lie" in 1964 to justify fullscale B-52 bombing over both North and South Vietnam. In fact, though Vance was later to assume a "liberal" posture, the *Pentagon Papers* do not reveal that Vance ever had a disagreement with U.S. escalation of the war.

In between plotting the course of the Vietnam aggression, in May, 1965, Johnson dispatched Vance to oversee the invasion of the Dominican Republic by 20,000 U.S. troops. He directed the "mopping up" operation that resulted in the liquidation of the popular rebellion that opposed that country's dictatorship. Vance's experience in the Dominican Republic was later put to use in Detroit and D.C.

In 1968 and 1969, Vance was second-in-command to Averill Harriman at the ill-fated Paris Peace Talks.

In the 1970s "Cy's" "mopping up" techniques were directed toward New York City, first to participate in the Knapp Commission's cover-up of widespread charges of police corruption which threatened to rock the upper echelons of government. More recently, Vance, along with David Rockefeller, joined a committee of "prominent citizens" designated to "oversee" the budget slashes, wage freezes and firing during New York City's budget crisis.

FINAL COVER-UP

N. Y. Governor Extends Clemency To Attica Inmates And Guards

(Albany, N.Y.) - In a move that had been expected for sometime, New York Governor Hugh Carey "closed the book" on the 1971 Attica prison rebellion and granted clemency to eight inmates falsely convicted of alleged crimes committed during the famed revolt.

In all, 62 inmates were indicted for crimes resulting from the September 9-13, 1971, uprising while only one guard was indicted. Due to this injustice, lawyers for Attica inmates charged the courts with "selective prosecution" as New York State correctional officers and state troopers were not held accountable for the countless atrocities committed against the Attica prison population.

Guards and state troopers murdered 43 persons, including 10 hostage guards, on "Bloody Monday," September 13, 1971, the day the prison was forcibly retaken.

In a statement issued by Governor Carey, he admitted that at least 20 "state officers and employees" should be disciplined for their parts in the Attica massacre but claimed that there wasn't enough evidence available.

The statement charged state

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Ray Offers To Testify Before Assassination Committee

(Memphis, Tenn.) - James Earl Ray, the convicted assassin of Black civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, who says he was coerced into pleading guilty, has offered to testify before the House Select Committee on Assassination.

Ray has insisted that he was forced into pleading guilty in 1968 and has unsuccessfully attempted to gain a new trial. Ray contends he was "framed by the FBI and local police and then coerced by his own attorney into pleading guilty against his will."

Both the assertion of his innocence and the offer to testify was made by Ray in a letter to *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis. In the letter Ray denounced a review by Lewis of a book written by George McMillan titled *The Making of An Assassin*. The book is supposedly an account of Ray's life.

Ray, whose appeal for a new trial was turned down recently by the U.S. Supreme Court, invited both Lewis and McMillan to testify also so that "our under-



MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

oath testimony can determine the facts."

Ray's lawyer, James H. Lesar, is against having his client testify before the House Committee and has objected to all interviews of Ray except those conducted by author Harold Wiseberg, who has written several books on the assassination of John F. Kennedy and King.

Ray has charged Lesar and Wiseberg of carrying out a scheme to use him for the publication of a book. He claims he was denied a fair trial after they coerced him into pleading guilty.

Lesar admitted that there was nothing to prevent the Committee, which is investigating the killings of Kennedy and King, from issuing a subpoena for Ray.

Sprague has stated that he wants Ray on the witness stand but that he would like to have his investigators interview Ray first, while Lesar has said it is not likely

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PUERTO RICANS ATTACK STATEHOOD PROPOSAL

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

proposes to resolve the status question unilaterally (involving only one side), without the proper consultation of the Puerto Rican people themselves.

"In addition to this, we believe that it (Ford's announcement) has also served to give widespread publicity to the inauguration of Governor-elect Carlos Romero Barcelo, who is a pro-statehood advocate but who played down the question of statehood during his campaign in Puerto Rico last yeai So it is no coincidence that the release of President Ford's announcement has come at a time when this new governor was about to be inaugurated.

"We also believe the proposal may have something to do with the existence of large oil and gas deposits off the coast of Puerto Rico, (though) we are not sure which particular interests are behind it."

Asked if the PSP favored a plebiscite among the Puerto Rican people, Laluz responded:

"We favor the bill introduced by Congressman Ron Dellums in last year's session of Congress, in which all powers of sovereignty will be transferred to Puerto Rico. A constitutional assembly will be called with the purpose of organizing a self-governing body in Puerto Rico, which will have as its first responsibility the discussion of the question of status by the Puerto Rican people themselves, *once sovereignty has been acquired.*

"This is what we believe any administration or government official should put forth as a solution to the status question of Puerto Rico.

"We share the concern of many people on the island that this has been done very disrespectfully. All sectors of opinion, including many who voted for statehood, are very much concerned and worried by the way President Ford has dealt with this question."

Twice before during this past year, the Ford administration has outraged large segments of the Puerto Rican community.

On one occasion, Ford announced an economic summit of Western nations to be held on the island this fall, neither first informing the Puerto Rican government nor inviting their participation.

HEARINGS

Also, the administration's sponsored hearings early last year on a proposed "Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and the United States" — designed to change the island's current "commonwealth" status to one of a "free associated state" — sparked widespread vocal denunciations, particularly from pro-independence groups. The hearings, which did not achieve their expected outcome because of the vehement protest, were chaired by Rep. Philip Burton of San Francisco.

Overcoming their surprise, sources within the Ford administration speculated to reporters that: (1) Ford was sending "a message to Castro and Cuba that the U.S. has a deep and active interest" in Puerto Rico and in the Caribbean as a whole; and (2) Ford was presenting a "political gift" to incoming Governor Barcelo's New Progressive Party, which is linked to the Republican Party in the U.S. Barcelo did not mention the proposal, however, in his inaugural address.

Puerto Rico's major daily, *El Mundo*, called Ford's action regrettable and the PSP's newspaper, *Claridad*, will undoubtedly blast the statehood proposal.



Scenes from militant Puerto Rican Independence demonstration. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party has called the 51st state proposal "a violation of the right to self-determination."

60 Per Cent In Puerto Rico Live Below Poverty Level

GEOGRAPHY

Puerto Rico is 50 miles from Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic) in the outer Caribbean, about 1,000 miles southeast of Florida. The island consists of 3,423 square miles, about one-third the size of New Hampshire. There are 10 major ports, with San Juan, the capital city, on the northern coast, Ponce and Mayagilez, the major ones.

POPULATION AND ECONOMY

Puerto Rico has an estimated population of close to 3 million, with another 2 million people residing in the U.S. Puerto Ricans on the island maintain a per-capita income of $1,835, with nearly 60 per cent of families having incomes below the federally-defined poverty level. In comparison to the 50 states, Puerto Rico would rank 26th in population and 4th in the number of poor. Unemployment, inflation and high taxes in the last several years have seriously crippled Puerto Rico's economy and a U.S.-sponsored industrialization effort called "Operation Bootstrap" has been a dismal failure. Conservative estimates put the jobless rate on the island as more than 30 per cent. Major crops are sugar, tobacco and coffee, while the major manufactured products include cigars, alcohol, chemicals, food processing equipment and household items. Tourism boosts Puerto Rico's economy, adding $360.3 million in 1974. School instruction is in Spanish, but English is a required subject at all levels.



Unemployment, high taxes and inflation are serious problems on the island of Puerto Rico, a virtual U.S. colony.

GOVERNMENT

Puerto Rico maintains a commonwealth status with the U.S. despite recent efforts to change to a "free associated state" through a "Compact of Permanent Union. "Executive" power is theoretically vested in a governor, who is elected for a four-year term. The Legislature consists of a Senate with 32 members and a House of Representatives of 52 members, all elected to serve four years. A "resident commissioner," also elected for four years, represents Puerto Rico in the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., but, however, cannot vote.

HISTORY

Puerto Rico was a Spanish colony for four centuries until it was ceded to the U.S. as a "war prize" following the Spanish-American War in 1898. In 1917, Puerto Rican people were granted U.S. citizenship rights and in 1947, island residents were first allowed to elect their own governor. Under a 1952 Constitution, Puerto Rico became a "self-governing commonwealth associated with the U.S." In 1975, the United Nations, in a historic and revealing resolution, declared that Puerto Rico was a "colony" of the U.S. and condemned the U.S. for violating the human rights of sovereignty and self-determination of the Puerto Rican people.

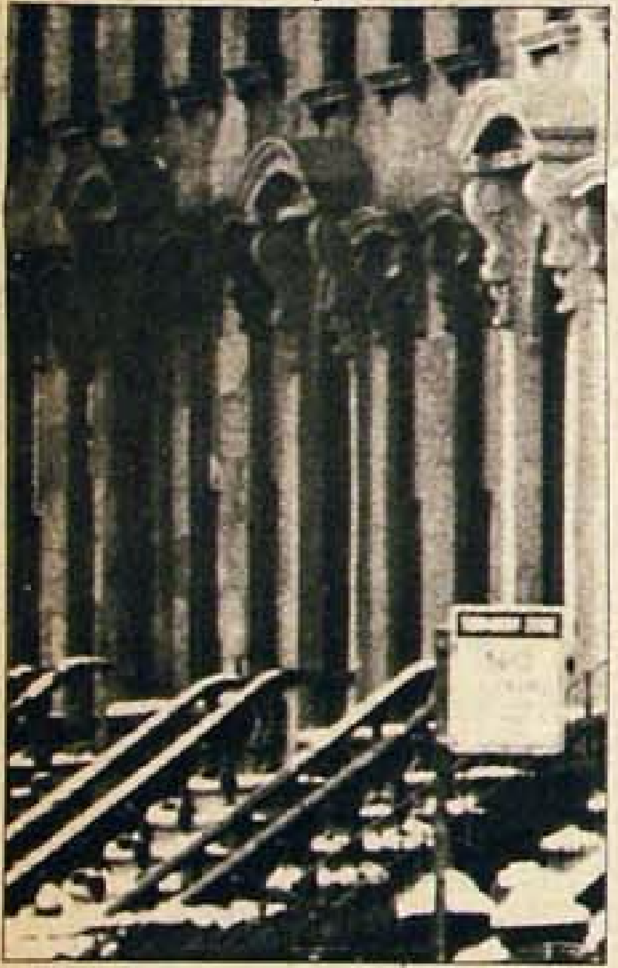
Rent Control Battle Seesaws Across U.S.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - One-third of all renters in the U.S. pay more than they can afford for housing, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' breakdown of necessary living expenses. With soaring rentals putting the squeeze on other necessitites, city after city is witnessing the rebirth of a hot new issue: rent control.

If the trend continues, it could have far-reaching consequences.

"Rent control," says a professor at American University business school, "is totally altering the concept of real estate as we have known it in the U.S.

"We are in a transition from property being viewed as a commodity to property being viewed as a social resource that must be committed to the best interests of society."



Slum housing reaps huge profits for big city landlords.

To counter that trend, landlord and real estate organizations in 1976 launched a counter-attack.

In California, real estate interests pushed a bill prohibiting rent control through the legislature, only to have Governor Jerry Brown veto it five minutes before it would have become law. Observers expect the California Housing Council, a developer and apartment-owner group that reportedly raised $300,000 to finance the legislation, to push the bill again in 1977.

Meanwhile, local rent control campaigns are underway or expected in student communities like Davis, Santa Barbara and Berkeley.

O.H.A., H.U.D. REFUSE MAJOR SAN ANTONIO VILLA DEMANDS—MEETING DEADLOCKED

(Oakland, Calif.) - A meeting held this week between the Oakland Housing Authority, the San Francisco area office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the San Antonio Tenants' Union soon became deadlocked when the OHA and HUD outright refused to accept or deal with the major grievances presented by San Antonio tenants' representatives.

At the meeting, Ms. Bessie Thomas, acting as spokesperson for San Antonio Villa residents, presented eight clear-cut suggestions and demands for improvements sought by tenants to which the OHA responded with vague, piecemeal solutions or flat refusals.

The demands presented by Ms. Thomas were:

(1) The creation of a full-time resident manager for the Villa;

(2) The creation of a management office out of one of the housing units;

(3) A general maintenance repair fee list to all residents (which was promised by the OHA over a year ago);

(4) Rolled turf for the barren grounds in the housing projects;

(5) An accounting for $50,000 of modernization monies allocated by HUD to the Villa earlier this year;

(6) A painting assistance program for those who cannot paint their own units;

(7) The allocation of part of the $124,000 in Oakland Community Development funds received by the OHA for the purpose of developing more play space in San Antonio; and

(8) Reimbursement for a power outage which took place on November 27 of last year which left San Antonio Villa without electricity for two-and-one-half days.



San Antonio Villa tenants have fought for over six months to force HUD and the OHA to improve their living conditions.

The request for a full-time resident manager, a crucial demand for residents, was flatly turned down by OHA Director Harold Davis and his associates despite the fact that the current arrangement under which the Villa is administered is constantly under criticism by tenants. Also, the HUD representatives in attendance, among them Mrs. Susan Hughes and Carl Eppler from the San Francisco regional office, backed down on their original recommendation supporting the resident management position they gave to the OHA last year after an on-site inspection conducted by the federal housing agency.

After that inspection, HUD stated, in a written report to the OHA, that the establishment of a resident manager would serve to "bridge the serious communication gap" between residents and the OHA. In another letter to the OHA dated December 20 of last year, HUD stated that the housing authority "should experiment" with the idea. Yet, at this meeting the HUD representatives turned their backs on the residents, "to give the OHA a chance to show some improvement."

An example of the piecemeal solutions offered by the OHA is that on the question of the installation of rolled turf, an "experiment" would be carried out in which only two of 16 buildings, would receive the turf. Not only would this have a very small effect on the project's appearance, the turf will have to endure the hundreds of children who will flock to play on it as an escape from having to play in dirt and mud.

On the question of reimbursement for the power outage, another major demand, tenants' representatives indicated that legal action would be sought as both the OHA and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company have refused to accept any responsibility.

Despite the almost total failure of this meeting, Ms. Thomas and Mrs. Autrie Smith, another tenant at the joint meeting, stressed that they will continue to organize for better conditions. Through their efforts they have achieved several improvements, most of them minor; some of them major, such as the allocation of funds by the city to rehabilitate the Villa "recreation center." □

Foreign "Questionable Payments" Revealed

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A total of 175 American firms spent at least $175 million overseas in the last six years on bribes and "questionable payments," according to a recent report titled "The Invisible Hand" which was prepared by the nonprofit Council on Economic Priorities (CEP).

Of the 175 companies filing statements with the SEC, 175 rank in *Fortune* magazine's top 500 and only 15 had sales under $100 million in 1976. The CEP document stated most of these companies made efforts to correct the practice of "questionable payments" and some filed new or revised anti-bribery company policy statements.

However, the effect of such statements, the study said, is uncertain as they are usually honored in theory but totally ignored in practice.

It was noted that one of the companies listed, Lockheed, has admitted $25 million in bribes, but the SEC has said as much as $200 million in fees and commissions by the company need to be investigated.

Other companies listed by CEP in the top 15 companies making "questionable payments" were: Grumman Aircraft Corporation ($28 million); R.J. Reynolds ($25.2 million); Armco Steel ($18 million); General Telephone ($15 million); Gulf Oil ($5.5 million, spread out over 12 years, the most "questionable" of all); Control Data Corporation ($4.6 million); and Upjohn Pharmaceutical Corporation ($4.2 million).

CARTER'S WIFE MAKES BEDSIDE VOW TO CONTINUE FIGHT

CARTER AND ARTIS FILE FOR THIRD TRIAL IN MURDER FRAME-UP

(Paterson, N.J.) - Last week, attorneys for Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis filed motions for a third trial here at the Passaic County Courthouse.

Carter, a former number one middleweight boxing contender, and Artis were falsely convicted last week for the second time in 10 years on false murder charges stemming from a triple slaying that occurred on June 17, 1966, at the Lafayette Bar and Grill here.

Carter and Artis had won a retrial after the New Jersey Supreme Court overturned their 1967 convictions last year. Prior to that ruling a nationwide campaign had been waged for the freedom of the two Black men.



RUBIN "Hurricane" CARTER (right) with his father before his conviction in murder re-trial frame-up.

However, in their second trial, a key prosecution witness, Alfred Bello, provided damaging, testimony placing them at the scene of the crime. Bello, in recanting his testimony from the original 1966 trial in September of 1974, admitted that he had been coerced and bribed by police into giving false testimony. But by the time of the retrial the admitted perjuror had changed his story once again as he testified against Carter and Artis, identifying the two as the murderers.

Also, the Passaic County prosecutor's office coerced four of Carter's 1966 defense witnesses into changing their stories while Passaic County detective Vincent DeSimone led an effort to inject a false racial-revenge motive into the trial. DeSimone was primarily responsible for the coercing of Bello and other witnesses.

Carter's wife gave a statement last week from her bedside at the Barnert Memorial Hospital here where she had given birth to their second child. The statement, which was read by Carter's cousin, Edward Carter, said, "Somehow we will find the strength to overcome this injustice. For nine years Rubin was imprisoned for crimes he did not commit.

"For nine months he was free and among us, where he belongs. Rubin's family and friends and associates know him to be innocent and incapable of the murders. We cannot and will not accept his reimprisonment. We will continue the struggle for freedom and justice. Somehow, right and truth will overcome racial passions and abuses of power."

Mrs. Carter's pregnancy had prevented her from attending her husband's six-week trial and she is now recuperating from a Caesarian section that was required for the birth of her son, Raheem Rubin Carter. The couple also have a daughter Theodora, 13, who was three years old when the "Hurricane" was first charged and jailed in connection with the Lafayette Bar and Grill killings.

N.C. Women's Prison Movement Documented

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

struggle has meant to the women imprisoned in the institution, Marjorie and Anne write in the conclusion of the book:

"During the course of meeting so many beautiful comrades, and the many part time revolutionaries, we have observed/learned much. Our experience can never be forgotten nor can the knowledge acquired from these rewarding situations. The pseudo revolutionaries and the dedicated ones have contributed to our growth; the many disappointments in chosen sistahs and bruthas; the traitorism, the escapism. . .all were educational.

"At times it seemed that the few of us stood alone, but we never quite accepted this as reality. Many times we stumbled but never fell; after the stumble we learned a straighter walk and stronger commitments, not to this situation we suffer, but to the universal oppressed peoples' struggle.

"Our oppression/exploitation is but an atom in the nucleus of the bomb that can free us/you. Until the big explosion from the fire we have kindled is heard/felt throughout the world can we cease in our plight for complete/total liberation. It is essential that we not only think/study/share our ideologies/dialectics, it is necessary that we strive toward a United Front. We fail only if we surrender."

Break de Chains is available for $2.00 per copy, 50 cents for all prisoners. At least 60 per cent of the proceeds will be used for the needs of the women at NCCCW, ranging from legal expenses to stamps.

Anyone wishing to purchase *Break De Chains of Legalized U.S. Slavery* may write to: North Carolina Women's Prison Book Project, P.O. Box 27, Durham, North Carolina 27702.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Black Marine Pleads Guilty

(Camp Pendleton, Calif.) - Corporal E.F. Henry, 20, was sentenced last week after pleading guilty to reduced charges in the case of 13 Black Marines who, enraged and provoked by the open presence of the KKK at the Marine base here, face conspiracy and assault charges stemming from an attack on a party of White marines they thought was a KKK gathering. Henry was sentenced to three months at hard labor, a reduction in pay of $150 a month and demotion to private. Also, with no explanation, three Marine members of the KKK scheduled to testify at pretrial hearings failed to show up.

Swine Flu Halt Continues

(Atlanta, Ga.) - A group of high-level advisers to the federal government at the Center for Disease Control here have recommended continuing the present moratorium on "swine flu" vaccinations because of the risk of contracting a form of paralysis. This policy would still allow doctors to use the vaccine for individual patients if the doctor obtains a signed informed consent form which states "the risk of neurological harm."

Black Cop's Appeal Rejected

(Chicago, Ill.) - Stanley Robinson, Black former Chicago police sergeant, who was railroaded to prison in 1973 behind the testimony of paid FBI informant William O'Neal, had his appeal for a new trial rejected last week by U.S. District Judge John Grady, despite major new evidence in the case. Robinson was sentenced to three concurrent terms of life imprisonment for the shooting death of two men in 1972 based on the exclusive testimony of O'Neal — the agent/conspirator currently testifying in the $47.7 million Fred Hampton murder trial. O'Neal claimed that he both accompanied Robinson and provided the murder weapon, which he later turned over to his FBI contact. Recent, more sophisticated ballistics tests prove that the gun O'Neal testified was the murder weapon could not have fired the bullet found in the victims' bodies.

OAKLAND SCHOOLS SUPERINTENDENT RUTH LOVE SMILES, SAYS NOTHING

U.S. COMMISSIONER ATTACKS "EDUCATION FOR ALL"

(Oakland, Calif.) - Passing through the city of Oakland last week, Edward Aquirre, the U.S. commissioner of education, stopped long enough to deliver a blistering attack on the concept of "education for all" regardless of race or wealth, saying that the "United States realistically should expect only about 30 per cent of its students to succeed academically," the *Oakland Tribune* reports.

Seated next to the commissioner, Ruth Love, Oakland's Black schools superintendent, smiled. . .bizarrely.





BPINS photos.

U.S. Commissioner of Education EDWARD AQUIRRE attacked the concept of "education for all" with the implied consent of Oakland schools head RUTH LOVE (inset). Black and poor students at the Oakland Community School are progressing in their education at a phenomenal rate.

Spouting a dangerous line direct from the mid-1800s, Aquirre, who heads the education division of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), said that America is trying "a grand experiment" in attempting to educate its entire population. A certain rate of failure is inevitable, he suggested.

"Some people are just not academically oriented," Aquirre said, contemptuously, bluntly adding, "and other systems (in foreign countries) would cull out those who aren't quite up to snuff."

QUALITY EDUCATION

Still, Ruth Love sat, smiling, seated next to a man proposing an abrupt end to Black rights to quality education. Throughout Aquirre's reactionary attack on, indeed, all poor people, Ms. Love, sat, smiling — stars in her eyes, her "halo" slightly tarnished, though — never objecting to the commissioner's bitter tirade.

Aquirre suggested that America has a "masochistic" preoccupation with educational success, saying, according to the *Tribune*, that *"even though* a student never learns to read or write, school might help him develop 'interpersonal' " or — catch this! — " 'saleable' skills."

The only time the commissioner got a little hazy was concerning economics, money, commenting that he believes the federal government's role in education should be to assist financially with "overriding national concerns."

(How about a population, as Aquirre proposes, with a 70 per cent illiteracy rate but loaded with plenty of "saleable" skills? Would that classify as an "overriding national concern"?)

For her part, Ms. Love should have kept numbly smiling, since when she opened her mouth she more than proved why she herself was being considered for the U.S. commissioner position under the incoming Carter administration:

Love announced an incredible cutback in badly-needed funds to impoverished schools in the Black and poor communities which often do poorly in statewide test scores, proudly saying that at least one million dollars of this money will go to the predominantly White middle class schools, which score higher on these biased exams.

The rich get richer, the poor get attacked. . .and Ruth Love smiles.☐

COIN-OPERATED "DEATH RACE"

"Kill A Pedestrian" Game Angers Safety Group

(Chicago, Ill.) - The National Safety Council last week expressed its outrage over an electric, coin-operated "Kill a Pedestrian" game called "Death Race."

In the game, players operate a driving simulator, equipped with steering wheel and accelerator, to chase pedestrian figures across an electronic screen. If a figure is hit, the machine gives out a loud shriek, and a cross-shaped grave marker pops up to score points.

The driver is rated a "Skeleton Chaser," a "Bone Cracker," a "Gremlin Hunter," or for the top scorer, an "Expert Driver."

INSIDIOUS

Gerald Driessen, a behavioral scientist, commented on the game, stating, "One of its most insidious and probably unrecognized characteristics is its shift from emergency, visual images of destruction, as you have in TV violence, to actual behavioral actions taken by the players. The person is no longer a spectator, but now an actor in the process of creating violence."

Dennis Row, a safety consultant, said, "We're trying to teach drivers how to take evasive maneuvers. . .and this morbid game comes along and encourages people to develop the opposite skill — how to hit people."

In another development, a women's group has launched a consumer boycott against an explicit "flasher doll" called "Uncle Sherman." "Uncle Sherman" is a 20-inch tall stuffed toy which wears only a trench coat that unbuttons and opens to expose itself.☐

Bill Collectors Blasted For Harassment, Invasion Of Privacy

(Washington, D.C.) — The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) issued an unprecedented consent order last week against bill collection services charged with abusing the privacy of debtors.

The collection agencies, the National Account Systems (NAS), the NAS Creditors Service, the National Account System of Milwaukee and the A.B. Hartman Company, were charged with using telephone trickery with secret codes to steal information about debtors from an unnamed company that runs a giant computer databank for insurance companies and credit institutions.

Other charges leveled by the FTC against the companies were the use of "abusive and obscene" language, lying to debtors about what would happen if they didn't pay off, contacting employers to increase pressure and failing to comply with the Truth in Lending Act when arranging for deferred payments.

The agreement, however, does not constitute an admission of wrongdoing nor does it carry any penalties for past practice.☐



Whatever Happened To The Black Panther Party?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

the Party viewed its role: that while the deaths of individuals, of individual revolutionists would not kill the revolution — to paraphrase Fred Hampton — an individual is not the revolution. Huey expresses that it's a bourgeoisie, reactionary notion to always look for new heroes: the people are the heroes, according to Mao. Therefore, the Party concluded, the struggle must be made to include all elements at various levels, even now, building toward the climax of total liberation.

The romantics, intellectuals and spoon-fed Whites who insist on forcing their personal view of struggle upon the "ignorant masses" represent this kind of thinking. They are Public Relations people, thinking that the more TV coverage, the more dramatic the activity their little band appears to indulge, perhaps the faster the people will decide to organize for struggle ("follow

"The People are still in need and Revolution is in the wind. . .The Vanguard Party still lives to fight another day."

them"). The Party believes in mass participation, not in dead heroes. (At any rate it always seemed as though the quick and the dead — today's posters and heroes — were none other than the same poor Blacks that had been dying all along.) To alienate the people in the course of such activity, to turn people toward reaction, to make them continue to seek salvation from their very oppressors, by being afraid of their so-called "liberators" is not only arrogant, but reactionary.

"*...The White mother-country radical is the offspring of the children of the beast that has plundered the world and exploited all people of color. These are children of the beast that seek now to be redeemed because they realize that their former heroes, who were slavemasters and murderers, put forth ideas that were only facades to hide the treachery they inflicted upon the world. They are turning their backs on their fathers...*

"*The White mother-country radical, in resisting the system, becomes somewhat of an abstract thing because he is not oppressed as much as Black people are. As a matter of fact, his oppression is somewhat abstract simply because he doesn't have to live in a reality of oppression.*" (Huey P. Newton, *To Die For The People*.)

The SLA, the hippies before and the flower children before represent such fantasies and such a class of people. These people denounce the Black Panther Party as reformist, because not enough niggers are dying for them. They are the Weatherpeople and the Manson nuts, insistent upon determining life for the poor and oppressed, very much like their fathers before. Everyone Black and poor knew which way the wind was blowing and didn't need a "weatherman." But where are they all today. What's left of the left.

WHERE ARE ALL THE BLACK NATIONALISTS AND FLOWER CHILDREN?

When the romantics found out that two or three bombings (or even several hundred) would not make the Revolution, having discovered earlier that police shoot flower children, too; when the world refused to yield to their infantile discoveries, where did they go? Was it all just an exercise, because it wasn't any fun any more and only the Patty Hearsts got the headlines; was it on to the communes to grow organic beets and oranges in polluted ground with polluted water, somewhere supposedly outside the polluted society the rest of us don't have the leisure or ability to escape.



ELAINE BROWN

BAD BLACK NATIONALISTS

And where are all the bad Black nationalists, now that Blackness ain't in. Karenga's out on parole, having served time for torturing several women, out trying not to get violated talking about how wrong he was all along. And Stokely's left his CIA wife, Miriam Makeba, messed up the image of Blacks throughout the Third World and left Rap Brown and Cleveland Sellers to do time for all his fiery rhyme and rhetoric. And Eldridge Cleaver went into pants in Paris, returning to the U.S. to defy reason and former friends and support the enemies of all people.

The Vanguard Still Lives

The Black Panther Party believes firmly that with all the ills of the so-called Left, it can and must unite. The People are still in need and Revolution is in the wind. There is still the fight to be fought and still soldiers to call to battle. The Vanguard Party, after nearly ten years of external and internal troubles, still lives to fight another day. It's building a base in Oakland, California, by any means necessary, a base for Revolution. The Black Panther Party is alive and well and living all over America.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ESCALATES ATTACKS ON UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS

(New York, N.Y.) — Federal agencies have drastically stepped up attacks against undocumented workers, or so-called "illegal aliens," in an effort to create scapegoats for the country's current economic crisis.

One of the most vicious examples of the escalation of these attacks occurred in the case of four-year-old Hector Moreno, who had gone for a walk with a family friend in the city of Commerce, California. When young Moreno and the friend disappeared, Moreno's family thought their child had been kidnapped.

The Moreno's found out that the friend, Jose Gonzalez, and Hector had been picked up in a raid by Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents, commonly known as "La Migra." INS officials denied the kidnaping. The Los Angeles Sheriff's Department returned young Moreno from Tijuana, Mexico, where he had been "deported," to his family but Gonzalez was not allowed to return since he was branded an "illegal alien."

On January 1 of this year the repressive Eilberg Bill became law. This law will end the practice whereby immigrant parents have been able to obtain permanent visas due to the fact that they have children who are U.S. citizens. Currently, 85 per cent of the immigrants from Mexico and Latin America obtain their permanent visas on this basis. Under the Eilberg Bill these children will have to be at least 21 years of age for their parents to stay in the U.S.

Under the Eilberg legislation, children of immigrant parents will be forced into being exiled or left in the U.S. without parents. The law will also make ineligible those applying to migrate to the U.S. if they have previously accepted employment here.

Josie Arce, of the National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices, described the passage of the bill as "the first legalized attempt in recent years to persecute undocumented people."

Part of this government campaign will be the issuance, in the near future, of "fool proof" green I.D. cards to "legal aliens," supposedly to stop the alleged widespread use of fake, green I.D. cards. The new card will contain a secret computer code in its number.

In Tucson, Arizona, four immigration counselors working for the Manzo Area Council are on trial for allegedly giving aid to "illegal aliens." In this case the federal government is challenging the right of social service agencies to provide legal counsel to undocumented workers.

One border patrol official said, "This is a test case and we are going to stop them if it takes us six years."

Three Manzo employees and a nun have been indicted on felony charges. They are Margo Cowan, the agency's director, Catalina Montano, Marguerita Jauregui Ramirez and Sister Ann Gabriel Marcaiq.

The indictment is sweeping, covering twenty-five counts that include "aiding and abetting aliens" to elude detection, "transporting" them and knowingly aiding "felons." Ms. Cowan, who was indicted on all twenty-five counts, faces a maximum of 77 years in prison and a $98,000 fine.

On April 9 of last year the Manzo office was the target of a Border Patrol raid in which over 800 client files were seized, only a small fraction of which dealt with undocumented workers. The Border Patrol had obtained a search warrant based on allegations that the Manzo office was helping undocumented people to get food stamps illegally.



TAMPALA MORENO, with his four-year-old son, HECTOR, who was kidnapped by the Border Patrol.

Using names found in the file, the Border Patrol made early morning raids on the homes of undocumented people and an estimated 150 were deported as a result.

At a recent Los Angeles press conference, Raul Grijalva, a member of the Tucson School Board who is associated with Manza, commented, "Because of the economic crisis, we are going through the scapegoating cycle against the undocumented that we have periodically in this country. This is precisely the kind of thing we are focusing on in fighting this case."

Ms. Cowan stressed that successful prosecution of this case would victimize public health nurses, county hospitals and schools that in any way relate to undocumented people.

If you want more information or want to help with the Manzo defense, contact: Margo Cowan, El Concilio Manzo, 1025 North Grande Avenue, Tucson, Arizona 85705 (602) 623-5739.□

Denver Chicano Activists Face Federal Set-Up

(Denver, Colo.) — The trial of two Chicano activists, Juan Haro and Antonio Qunitana, falsely charged with conspiring to bomb Denver police stations, is scheduled to begin here on January 12.

Haro, 45, and Quintana, 22, were arrested on September 17, 1975, the targets of a highly sensationalized set-up by federal, state and Denver police agents. Police claim that Haro, a longtime activist for the Crusade for Justice, a progressive Chicano organization, and Quintana were part of a larger conspiracy to bomb several police stations in the Denver area as an alleged political act in protest of the International Association of Police Chiefs' meeting held in Denver at that time.



JUAN HARO (left) and ANTONIO QUINTANA are falsely charged with conspiring to bomb several Denver police stations.

"EVIDENCE"

The prosecution's so-called "evidence" will be based largely on the testimony of a known police agent provocateur, Jose Cordova, Jr., who, according to police, had gained the confidence of the leadership of the Crusade of Justice.

Spokespersons for the Crusade for Justice, however, emphatically deny that Cordova was ever a member of their group. Cordova claims that he went to police only two weeks before the arrest of Haro and Quintana, claiming that he feared the loss of lives.

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...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

This week in...And Bid Him Sing, *Suliman Ibn Rashid, a self-exiled Black American living in Cairo, Egypt, continues to fight evacuation from his adopted country as the 1967 Middle East war breaks out and the Egyptian government orders all Americans out of the country.*

PART 60

"*Alaikum we salem,*" she replied, taking his cool to be a gargantuan effort to reflect confidence. "Have you had breakfast? I'd like a coffee," looking around for someone to bring it.

"Sit down," he said. "I'll find someone."

"Don't bother," she protested. "Someone'll be along." But he had gone off without a word more. She sat down, opened her bag and took out an unopened pack of cigarettes and her lighter. As she tore the cellophane off the package she glanced down at Suliman's papers and briefcase on the table beside her. *Poor dear,* she thought to herself.

A white-gowned waiter brought her coffee before Suliman reappeared. When he did he was with Mr. Munir, the Egyptian official of the night before. They came up to where Mika sat and Mr. Munir said to her:

"Good morning. Your're here for evacuation?"

"Well, yes. I suppose so," she answered uncertainly.

"Where's your luggage?"

"Over there," she pointed.

"Would you come with me, please. We'll assign you a room where you can put your things and rest. You know, we'll be leaving here at six this evening. May I have your passport, please?"

Mika got up, stubbed out her cigarette and followed Munir to the reception desk. As she went Suliman noticed that the tiny, mincing step she usually affected was missing. In its place was a firm longer, businesslike stride that somehow made her appear older. He was repulsed by it.

Suliman sat down and gathered up his papers carefully and put them into his briefcase. A sudden stir at the entrance caught his attention. The lobby porters had quickly gathered there and someone was holding the door open. Two waiters appeared from nowhere and stood beside the entrance, almost as if at attention. Leaving the counter unattended the two clerks were being led from their places toward the entrance by a well-dressed older man, apparently the hotel manager. Mr. Munir was at his side.

Just as they reached the entrance a tall, paunchy, white-haired man, neatly dressed in a dark suit, white shirt and bland tie, and carrying prayer beads in his left hand, strode arrogantly in. Immediately behind him came a uniformed police officer. A younger man, also in dark suit and carrying a briefcase, followed.

The hotel manager took two steps backward and bowed at the waist as he took the tall man's extended hand. Mr. Munir seemed to be introducing the two men. The tall man continued moving forward as he shook the manager's hand, being directed by Mr. Munir toward the steps that led up to the mezzanine. Temporary offices for the evacuation had been set up on the mezzanine. It was there that Suliman had been taken when brought from the police station the evening before.

Suddenly the lobby was full of "loitering" Egyptians from the minister's security detail. Mika stood alone at the counter, her back to it, one hand on her hip, watching. Suliman rose, took up his briefcase, and went over to her.

"Well, who was *that?*" she asked as he came up to her.

"Must be the cat from the President's office in charge of the evacuation," Suliman answered. "He's the one I'm supposed to see, I guess. Munir is supposed to be setting it up for me."

At that moment the American Embassy official who had been with Mr. Munir the night before entered the lobby from outside. He was alone. He strode rapidly through the lobby and bounded up the stairway to the mezzanine, taking two steps at a time. Suliman's face hardened.

"That's Mr. Blumgard," Mika said, "from the embassy. He's the consul."

"Yeah, I know," Suliman replied. They were both silent for a moment, and then Suliman said: "I'm going up there. Munir told me to wait till he came and got me. But I'm going up. I'll look you up when I'm finished." He started toward the steps.

"I'm in Room 816. If I'm not here when you come down I'll be in the room," Mika called after him.

"Okay." Moving rapidly, Suliman strode through the lobby and disappeared up the stairs leading to the mezzanine. He could not have heard the faint "Good luck" that followed him from Mika's lips.

It was nearly five a.m. when I got home. I went to bed immediately, setting the alarm for eight. By nine I was at the Islamic Center office. It was closed, but the building showed signs of activity. I had coffee at a nearby cafe and returned to the office about forty-five minutes later. I was told the office was not going to open for normal business, but that Mr. Mursy might come in at some time during the morning.

TO BE CONTINUED



Palestinians demonstrate against occupation by Israeli military forces.

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton "TRIAL"

We continue with an excerpt from the chapter "Trial" in Revolutionary Suicide. *Here, Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton discusses the unfair court proceedings in his celebrated 1968 murder trial.*

PART 81

For instance, the dispatcher assumed that I was connected with the crime since Frey had asked information about me before he was shot, and so he sent out a bulletin about 5:15 a.m. describing me as the "Suspect" and stating that I was wearing a tan jacket. Half an hour later, he inexplicably sent out another bulletin that I was wearing dark clothing. Henry Grier, too, had mentioned in his interview with Inspector McConnell a "pee-wee" type wearing a tan jacket. Was there a third person answering this description at the scene? Throughout the trial Jensen never allowed this possibility to be suggested to the jury, even though the police had interviewed witnesses who had heard the shots and arrived at the scene seconds after the shooting. My lawyers even suspect that a number of people in the area were close and had witnessed the incident.

One woman, a Black prostitute, told the police that she had seen three men running away in the direction of the gas station at the corner of Seventh Street and Willow Avenue. Another witness, a young man, told the police that he had seen two cars speeding away north on Seventh Street. Jensen never called these people to testify because he wanted to create the impression that I was the only person who could possibly have killed Frey. Yet the accounts of others who were there (and later Heane's own admission at my third trial that there had been a third person present) contradicted his theory.

Another piece of evidence that Jensen found hard to dismiss was the lawbook I was carrying when Frey ordered me to the back of Heane's car. Charles Garry pointed out that I could not very well have carried a gun and a lawbook in my right hand at the same time. But even more crucial was my reason for carrying it. Reading to the police from lawbooks was the only defense I had in case of unlawful arrest.

I had done it countless times in the past, and there are hundreds of people in the Black community who have seen me do it and can testify that it was my common practice. I carried it again on the morning of October 28 to read the law to Officer Frey. It was an action that Jensen could not distort for his own ends.

Perhaps Jensen's most grievous and callous omission during the entire trial was his failure to point out that a vital word in the transcript of Grier's conversation with Inspector McConnell had been changed. It was only by accident that Charles Garry discovered that this word had been incorrectly transcribed by a typist in the district attorney's office from the tape that Inspector McConnell had made with Grier.

And yet this one word was so important that it called into doubt Grier's identification of me from the picture McConnell showed him at police headquarters. To make matters worse, Garry discovered this error only after the trial proper was over and the jury had been out deliberating the verdict for a day.

On September 5, the jury requested to see the transcript, and Judge Friedman called Garry and Jensen into his chambers to ask them for a copy. There was no court copy (the trial clerk had forgotten to acquire one as evidence), and Charles Garry had lent his only copy to someone else.

So Jensen went to get his and came back with the original working copy of the transcription. As Garry quickly looked through it, he paused in disbelief over a section of Grier's testimony. There, over the crucial word, was a handwritten correction, completely reversing the meaning of the sentence. This section read:

Q: About how old?

A: I couldn't say because I had only my lights on. I couldn't — I DID get a clear picture, clear view of his face, but — because he had his head kind of down facing the headlights of the coach and I couldn't get a good look —.

Over the word "did" someone had written in the correct word: "didn't." But throughout the trial, Jensen, knowing that this issue was crucial, had neglected to inform Garry, the jury, and the court that there was a question in the transcript of how clearly Grier had been able to see. Indeed, Jensen's contention was that Grier *had* gotten a good look and was therefore in a position to identify that person as me.



Pensive Black woman outside Huey P. Newton's 1968 murder trial at the Alameda County Courthouse.

SLIGHTEST DOUBT

As long as there was a slightest doubt in his mind about whether the word was "did" or "didn't" he had a moral obligation to inform the court and the defense counsel, and it was an absolute matter of conscience that he listen again to the tape to see what the word actually was. He never bothered.

In this important matter and in all the other dubious issues — the position of the bullet casings, the police tapes, the hiding of Grier, the keeping of important witnesses off the stand, changing of Grier's original testimony — Lowell Jensen proves less than honorable. It is the prosecutor's job to convict a *guilty* man — not an *innocent* one. And in my case Jensen had many reasons to believe I was innocent. He chose to ignore them all.

When the prosecution rested its case, Charles Garry, on the morning of August 19, moved for another mistrial. He based his motion on the fact that it was impossible for me to receive a fair trial in Oakland because of the atmosphere of hatred, violence, and controversy. As proof of this, he read to the court samples of hate mail that he and I had been receiving.

TO BE CONTINUED

Interview With Carter Camp

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT "FORGING A RED NATION THAT CAN LIBERATE ITSELF"

THE BLACK PANTHER had the opportunity last week to interview Carter Camp, a leader in the American Indian Movement (AIM), on the latest series of government attacks against the progressive Native American group, this time a sweeping federal grand jury probe in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. As the talk went on, Camp — recently released from Fort Leavenworth Prison in Kansas when a judge ordered a retrial on false charges arising from his participation in the 71-day Wounded Knee takeover — branched out to give a broader interpretation of AIM's development and its growing base of support in the Native American community. Also participating in the interview was Leroy Casados, a Chicano AIM member recently returned from Oklahoma City.

QUESTION: Why has the American Indian Movement come under federal grand jury attack?

CAMP: There really was a concerted effort by the government to destroy the American Indian Movement, especially our leadership. At this point it looks as though they haven't been able to get the indictments that they were seeking. Apparently they thought that AIM was going to come down before the grand jury and tell them anything that they wanted or make statements against each other. What happened was they found out that we stick pretty close together, that there is good solidarity among the people. They couldn't get the kind of information they wanted that would be damaging to the leadership.

OKLAHOMA

It really is a weird situation in Oklahoma. I think that what has happened is that they tried several grand juries in South Dakota and AIM people in South Dakota again showed their strength and solidarity in not giving information. They tried grand juries in Denver and the Chicano people in Denver so far have shown solidarity and wouldn't work with them. Obviously, it's a really racist effort that they're making. So, they figure, Oklahoma is a southern state with a redneck population and they've got some really gung-ho prosecutors from the U.S. attorney's office. They thought that by being in Oklahoma they could force people into a situation where they are isolated. They've brought people from Wisconsin, South Dakota, Colorado and different areas a long way from home and they thought they could isolate them.

You see, this is a nationwide witchhunt the government is on, and they are using some really racist tactics to prepare the groundwork for a trial, a major trial against AIM leadership.

Q: What are the charges the Oklahoma grand jury is supposedly investigating?

CAMP: Well, first they made some silly statements about AIM and members of AIM planning the assassination of Senator Dewey Bartlett. He's the U.S. senator from Oklahoma and he's a racist too. I wouldn't want to protect him, but AIM didn't have any plans against him. I don't think that they thought we did, but they knew that putting this out front for the media, they would get it in people's minds that AIM was this type of violent organization.

Well, this is a regular grand jury, not a special jury. It meets the first part of every month and it goes on for 18 months. We feel that possibly they didn't use that unity and jail people because it was only a short time left in the grand jury. So we would only have done three or four months in jail. I think that possibly now they'll come out and start a new grand jury in January, and they'll be able to give you a long jail sentence. Oklahoma County Jail isn't a pleasant place to be. Of course, I was already in the joint while this was going down. I just got out. I wasn't subpoenaed but they were asking questions about me. So it was an obvious thing that they were trying to divide us, putting people one against the other to fight each other.

Q: Has anyone been indicted or jailed by this grand jury?

CASADOS: Well, basically, they haven't been successful in offering people immunity and then turning around and jailing them. But their whole thing now is money, because they know that people get really funny over money. What they're doing now is just offering people money. As a matter of fact, in a lot of the trials AIM has gone through all the informants that have come forward to testify against AIM have been paid. We know that that's working. When they were approaching me they thought that $200,000 would do it, but to me, the struggle isn't money.



Indian youth traveling on the perimeter of their reservation.

What happened is that I got subpoenaed in September, and when I was getting ready to board the airplane, they met me at the door and told me that my subpoena had been dropped and that they would resubpoena me next month. The FBI no longer deals with us because when they have, we gave them such a bad name. Now they're using those dudes, (Alcohol, Firearms and Tobacco agents from the Treasury Department.) What they did then was say they wanted to talk to me in the parking lot, knowing god damn well that there



CARTER CAMP (right), LEROY CASADOS (left) and a third AIM member during an interview with THE BLACK PANTHER.

would be no witnesses. They said, "We've been authorized by the (Oklahoma state) attorney general to offer you $200,000." At that time, the guy with a blue blazer on pulled out an envelope, opened it up and showed it to me. There was nothing but $100 bills in it stacks of them. He said to me, "We've been authorized to offer you this protection money. We know that higher up on the echelon within the movement we could put everybody in jail because we've got people testifying against you already. Before you let them do a number on you, you should do a number on them." I said, "that's a lot of money but I don't know anything about anybody that's going to put them in jail." "We'll give you a new identity," they said, "and send you any place in the world you want to go, give you anything you want, but you have to get on that plane and you have to fly with us to Oklahoma City right now." I said, "As far as I'm concerned, you people are not authorized to give me shit." The reason I said that was because I wanted something in writing so I could expose them.

Well, that's exactly what I did. They left, and I think it was about three days later they sent their two agents back to my house with a letter signed by the U.S. attorney general of Oklahoma. I took the letter and I just slammed the door on them. They were yelling through the door for me to give back that letter. I said, "I'm going to take it. It's mine." That's where it ended.

Q: Why has the federal government attempted to attack AIM so long and so hard?

CAMP: Well, there's a pretty good reason. They're afraid. They see people are struggling for a cause that is just and correct, and they know that if we're able to spread among all the Indian people the goals and aspirations of the American Indian Movement, that we'll be able to fight the government in a place that they really hate. We have large areas of land massed in which we could control a lot of the energy production in the United States. They don't want to see Indian people demanding that they get their fair share of their own land. They know that the American Indian Movement is a real threat to them in that respect because now through the use of their puppets in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the puppets in the tribal chairmanship position, they can control Indian country pretty effectively. They know that if we're able to change the leadership in Indian Country, they won't be able to just rip-off our natural resources. America has had its way all across the world with people's resources. They've used tremendous ripping off and stealing to build this economy. Now people around the world are beginning to realize that they shouldn't give their resources away to the United States because they're being depleted. So the United States is beginning to look inward to developing resources within the United States. A lot of those resources are in Indian Country. That's one of the reasons.

The other thing is that America's police force has a knee jerk reaction. Anytime they see any of us people getting a little bit out of line, they want to put you back in line. They want to keep this type of control, the police state under such tight control that the



Indian children on the Pine Ridge Reservation have not been spared from the terror tactics of the FBI.

American people themselves don't realize that they're living in a police state. The American Indian Movement, in several areas, has taken a stand. We took a stand at Wounded Knee and fought them for 71 days, and they can't understand why we're all not in prison. The FBI has really a deep hatred for the American Indian Movement. They attacked our people on Pine Ridge, and two of theirs got killed. Then an all-White jury in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, acquitted these two brothers (AIM members Bob Rambeaux and Dino Butler). These brothers never said that they didn't do it — they said they had to fight in self-defense. That was even another blow to the FBI because a White jury accepted the fact that it was necessary—because of FBI terror tactics on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation — for these people to fight in self-defense.

All these levels have built up in the FBI's mind, and they want to destroy the American Indian Movement. They've used a lot of tactics. During 1976 they sent out communiques to various police departments around the country that the American Indian Movement had 2,000 "dog soldiers" that were being trained; and that during the Bicentennial we were going to do a lot of terror tactics and off the governor of South Dakota. It was not that the FBI believed any of that. The reason they did that was to try to get local police departments to do their dirty work for them. If they could make the local sheriffs and marshals in South Dakota so afraid of the American Indian Movement that their reaction would be to kill our people if anything comes up, even something like a traffic ticket, if they can create that fear in the police departments, that means they don't have to do the killing themselves. They can get other people to do it including people like the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There's been about 200 Indians killed on the Pine Ridge Reservation since Wounded Knee. The fact is that the media or the American public don't want to hear about. It was really a big story when two FBI invaders, attackers, got killed on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Then, everybody sat down and wrote about it, but the 200 other human beings who are Indian people who were killed on that reservation since Wounded Knee have been totally ignored.

Q: Is Pine Ridge still under attack?

CAMP: Yes. Pine Ridge is a combat zone. (Former president of the Pine Ridge tribal council) Wilson's kicked out but the BIA and the FBI are still there. Wilson's been defeated. He's gone.

CASADOS: You know, Pine Ridge is probably the only place in the country where the military operates so openly. It's under martial law. Police are still breaking doors down and charging in. In fact, Carter Camp's family, his wife and family, were shot up by them. They just drove up to the house and just opened fire. One little boy who's only two years old was hit with an M-16 round. It almost took off his arm. The American people don't hear that, but there's actually a war going on there.

Q: There was a lot of talk in 1976 about AIM returning to its spiritual roots. What is that about?

CAMP: There's always been talk amongst the Indian people around the country for us to observe the traditional ways. Some of our people have talked about the American Indian Movement as being a rebirth of the old warrior societies in our various tribes. And we do kind of see ourselves as being that.

I think that more importantly, and the reason I'm out here visiting brothers and sisters, is to develop a more clear outline among the American Indian Movement itself of how our struggle is relating to struggles all around the world and how we can struggle on a principled level in alliance with people around the world. The fact of our native traditions will have to be worked out within the Indian community as we struggle on a plan that we see as a national liberation struggle: that we do liberate an area that is going to be an Indian nation. How we fit our traditional values in there, will be dealt with by the Indian people themselves from within that emerging nation.

I think that it's real important that we understand our struggle on that kind of principled level of national liberation and a nation emerging out of the fact that our people have been oppressed for so long that in order for us to survive we need to come together in a strong bond of unity between the various Indian nations and form into a Red Nation that can liberate itself.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowlede of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Soweto Students: "All Oppressed People Are Black"

The following article, updating events in Soweto "township," is excerpted from the Guardian.

•Workers and students are now living under virtual military occupation in the Black "townships" of South Africa.

•All students in these areas above the age of eight are being taken away for interrogation by police carrying out a door-to-door search.

•There is a new mood of widespread militancy and support for armed resistance among Blacks in Soweto as well as other South African "townships."

These developments were reported by three students interviewed in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, after their recent escape from Soweto, the Black "township" outside Johannesburg. Uprisings against apartheid and for majority rule have been taking place there and in other Black areas since June.

Masiphula Mbongwa, 22, is a former student at the University of Zululand in Natal. He explained how all African students throughout the country have become "suspects" since the demonstrations and uprisings began. "What I saw is that they use 'hippos' (armored cars) and they go house to house with files which list the members of the family and whether they are a worker or a student," Mbongwa recounted.

"If you are a student, they take you in the hippos. All students in the 'township' from the age of eight are being taken for interrogation. They say they are taken for questioning," he continued, "but people are being beaten up, tortured — people are dying."

Mbongwa's account of police terror is reminiscent of Gestapo raids in Nazi Germany: "If any students have disappeared from their homes when the police come by," he said, "their parents are taken in place of us." He explained that students who are removed for questioning "are usually released one week after being taken, but they have to report back every day — usually between 6 and 8 a.m.

"Once a student has been caught in a demonstration, the police automatically go back to his home whenever there are any

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Intercommunal News

"CLUB OF TEN" PROMOTES SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID

(London, England) - An American newspaper publishing executive and four South African millionaires have been named as members of the "Club of Ten," which, since 1972, has been financing an intense publicity campaign in defense of the apartheid policies of the White minority government in South Africa.

The five men are named in a booklet to be published later this month by the London-based anti-apartheid organization, Africa Bureau. Entitled "The Great White Hoax," the Booklet is a study of South African propaganda groups, according to an article in the *London Observer*.

The Club of Ten members named by the Africa Bureau include Clarence E. Rhodes, an American who is president of UPITN, an international film agency jointly run by United Press International and Independent Television News of London. Rhodes is also vice president of Panax Corporation.

Other Club of Ten members are:

•Werner Ackermann, a millionaire Pretoria property owner and one of the backers of the recently established South African Foreign Affairs Association. Ackermann has invited several influential people to South Africa, including six U.S. congressmen in February, 1975.

•Jan Pickard, former South African international rugby player, who controls a financial empire with interests in finance, banking, property, liquor, meat and tourism. Pinkard recently took over Sagit, one of South Africa's oldest trust companies.

•Louis Luyt, financier of several advertising campaigns in Great Britain and Australia, including one directed at preventing South Africa's growing isolation in international sporting competition.

•Lampis Nichas, owner of farms in South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland.

The names of the five men first surfaced when Gerald Sparrow, a retired British judge who was an organizer of the Club of Ten, gave them to Joan Lestor, former British undersecretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs who is now a Labor Parliament member.

Sparrow refused to comment on the Club, but the *Observer* learned that he has written a book called *The Ad Astra Connection* (named after the building in Pretoria, South Africa, that houses the South African Department of Information). The five men are named in the book.

Rhodes, who lives in London, denied knowledge of the Club of Ten, but did admit that he had met South African "Minister of Information" Dr. Connie Mulder and "Secretary of Information" Dr. Eschel Rhoodie in the U.S. According to Sparrow, the Club of Ten was formed at the urging of Mulder and Rhoodie. While Sparrow was in South Africa in 1972, he met with Mulder who persuaded the British judge to run the international advertising campaign defending apartheid.

Since 1974, when the Club of Ten began its expensive and aggressive advertising campaign, its sponsors have been a mystery. Sparrow says in his book that Rhoodie — who named the Club — sent him the names of the Club's principal supporters when reports appeared in the *London Guardian* in 1974 linking the Club directly to the South African government. The South African official held a press conference to deny the *Guardian*'s report.

Two months later, at a news conference staged in London, Nichas was on hand to present Sparrow with a check for the Club of Ten's quarterly magazine, *The Phoenix*. □



Azanians stroll under advertisement which reveals the sickness of South African apartheid.



South Africa's infamous ROBBEN ISLAND prison is notorious for the torturous treatment of its Azanian and Namibian prisoners.



NAMIBIAN PRISONER WRITES FROM SOUTH AFRICAN PRISON

ROBBEN ISLAND: "THE BOERS TREAT US WORSE THAN DOGS"

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents a shocking letter from a Namibian political prisoner jailed by South African authorities on notorious Robben Island. The letter's author, an unnamed member of SWAPO, the vanguard force leading the Namibian war of liberation, details the horrors, the harsh and inhuman treatment, for which Robben Island is infamous. The letter has been excerpted from the original, which is much longer and is reprinted from LSM News, *a bimonthly newsletter published by the Liberation Support Movement.*

"I am writing to you to tell you of our plight and to try to summarize the conditions prevailing at Robben Island, in the hope that you will be able to make these things known to the world. The South African regime spreads a lot of lies about this place, and we want you to broadcast the truth.

HARD LABOR

"We are forced to do the dirtiest and worst kinds of hard labor thought up by the Boers and designed to make life difficult and unbearable for us. For one year we were working at the 'Bamboos' (it is a kind of seaweed) factory. Some of us were drawing the 'Bamboos' from the sea, while others carried them to the factory. After they dry they are milled, put into bags, and exported to the United States.

"There is in fact a place called the 'hospital' but is one only in name, for people do not get proper treatment there. The 'doctors' who visit the Island are quacks: comrades are often given wrong tablets and medicines. Or the officers see to it that we don't get the tablets at all.

"The following comrades lost their lives or parts of their bodies because they were not given proper medical attention by the Boer doctors:

•"Erasmus Kapolo had an abcess of the gum while in

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C.I.A., South Africa Conspire To Subvert Namibian Independence

Below, THE BLACK PANTHER presents the conclusion of a revealing expose on a conspiracy by the U.S. and South Africa to sabotage the Namibian (South West African) armed liberation struggle in order to ensure continued Western control of the mineral rich South African colony.

Previous articles in the series, based on a confidential United Nations memorandum obtained by CounterSpy *magazine, have detailed plans to create a secret army of Black Americans to fight the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) — the vanguard Black revolutionary organization leading the Namibian armed liberation struggle; the use of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) as a front for American counterinsurgency forces in Namibia; and efforts by the CIA and BOSS (South African secret police) to discredit SWAPO by placing a reactionary Black puppet in control of "independent" Namibia.*

The conclusion of this timely series focuses on a CIA-BOSS propaganda campaign to discredit Sean MacBride, U.N. commissioner for Namibia, who is

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SWAPO leader SAM NUJOMA, leader of the Namibian independence movement.

AFRICA IN FOCUS



Zimbabwe

Two Zimbabwean cabinet ministers in the White minority government of Rhodesia were denounced as "sellouts" last week by Zimbabwean liberation leaders after the two men, both tribal chiefs, resigned their posts and announced the creation of a new Black political party in the country. Chiefs Jeremiah Chirau and Kayisa Ndiweni — who were appointed cabinet ministers last April as part of the government's "new deal" to give Zimbabweans a greater voice in the country's political affairs — said that they would form the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO). Both chiefs are outspoken opponents of the armed liberation struggle for Black majority rule.

Azania

The holiday season claimed the lives of at least 117 Azanians (Black South Africans) and caused injuries to another 200 in Cape Town and Natal provinces and "independent" Transkei last week. While the Black residents of Soweto "township" outside Johannesburg conducted a united Christmas boycott in commemoration of the deaths and injuries of thousands of Azanians during the past six months of Black political protest against apartheid, migrant workers opposed to the boycott clashed with student organizers in the "townships," killing 24 people outside Cape Town. In Natal Province, tribal fighting erupted, killing at least 86 persons. "Factional fighting" was described by the *Associated Press* as the cause of violence in the Transkei, where five people were killed and 10 injured.

Azania

The White minority government of South Africa last week announced the release of the last of 102 Azanians detained under the country's repressive Internal Security Act since last June. Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned Azanian political leader Nelson Mandela, and *Rand Daily Mail* news photographer Peter Magubane were among those released. However, the Institute of Race Relations announced that at least 300 other Azanians, who have not been tried, are still imprisoned under other security laws.

Black Parents Movement Fights Racism In North London

The Black Parents Movement (BPM), along with the Black Students Movement (BSM) of North London (England), has been actively involved in organizing unemployed youth, students and parents in this predominantly West Indian community into a united force capable of carrying out a struggle against police brutality and the White racist legal system.

The following article, reprinted from Race Today *— the "Voice of the Black Community in Great Britain" — is an extract of a speech made at a recent BPM meeting that clearly states the position of this grassroots community organization.*



BPM members at recent meeting.

We believe at this important period where the Black working class faces strikes, unemployment in the railway and the post office, where the youth and older Black working class is in constant conflict with the police and education authorities, with the state at every level, through individual acts of oppression that we suffer, through this capitalist system of oppression, that at this particular moment, it has become necessary to clarify for ourselves where we are going and how we intend to go about what we are trying to do.

We stand for the independent, Black, radical and revolutionary organization of Black people. We stand for that and we also stand for linking our struggles with other groups in the society — linking our struggles together and working out our ideological position as we link our struggles together.

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FRELIMO troops take over Portuguese administration building during the Mozambican war of liberation.

CUBAN DELEGATION MAKES FRIENDLY VISIT TO PEOPLE'S MOZAMBIQUE

(Maputo, Mozambique) - In response to an invitation from the Central Committee of FRELIMO, a delegation from the Communist Party of Cuba made a friendly visit to the People's Republic of Mozambique in mid-November aimed at furthering the relations of militant friendship, solidarity and brotherhood that exist between FRELIMO and the Communist Party of Cuba and between the people of Mozambique and Cuba.

FIRSTHAND LOOK

The Cuban delegation had the opportunity to have a firsthand look at the political, economic and social situation in the People's Republic of Mozambique, visiting the liberated zones in the province of Tete; the hydroelectric power plant in Cabora Bassa; the coal mines in Moatize; and Wiriyama, community where the Portuguese colonialists massacred Mozambicans. The delegation also visited a factory and a community in the capital and the port of Beira.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba participated in various demonstrations characterized by enthusiasm and combat spirit held in its honor and, thus, had the opportunity to verify the Cuban people's and the Cuban Communists' assurance of the victorious advance of the Mozambican Revolution, headed by its vanguard.

The Cuban delegation met with the president of FRELIMO and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Comrade Samora Moises Machel, to whom it conveyed the fraternal greetings of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and commander-in-chief, Comrade Fidel Castro, and the Cuban people. A frank exchange of views on the relations between the two parties and peoples was held.

In the course of the talks, stress was put on the decisive importance of the victory scored by the Angolan people led by the MPLA over the invading South African racist troops and the mercenaries and Angolan puppets paid by imperialism.

That victory was a decisive contribution to the change in the balance of forces in southern Africa in favor of the movement for national liberation.

In stressing the Mozambican people's determination to face up to any repel any aggression by racist, illegal and minority regime of Ian Smith against the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Mozambique delegation reaffirmed FRELIMO's and the Mozambican people's total and unconditional support for the just struggle being waged by the peoples of southern Africa for liberation from colonial-racist and racist domination.

Both delegations hailed the contribution made by the nonaligned countries movement to the peoples still under foreign domination who are struggling against colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination. They also reiterated their determination to continue working together in the nonaligned countries movement in order to strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle.

The two delegations analyzed the ways in which relations of mutual cooperation in various aspects of national reconstruction could be further developed.

The FRELIMO delegation and the delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba, expressing the aspirations of both parties and peoples, hailed the outcome of the visit and of the talks related to greater reciprocal knowledge, the exchange of experiences and mutual cooperation, with a view to furthering the world anti-imperialist front. □





Fraternal ties between Mozambican president and FRELIMO leader SAMORA MACHEL and Cuban Prime Minister FIDEL CASTRO were strengthened by recent visit to Mozambique by a Cuban delegation.

"For The Women Left Behind Who Are Helpless"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

"There are some women who have never gotten any further than the 8th grade who are serving a shorter sentence and would love to have the opportunity to go to school and learn a trade so that when they are released they will be able to obtain a job and support their families, and they are not given the chance.

•"Discipline: A total of 35 Black women, five White women and two Indian women have been sent back to McAlester (Oklahoma's maximum security prison for men). This shows a great deal of discrimination and prejudice. In one instance, three Black women were locked up and sent back to McAlester without a hearing. On the other hand, one of the White inmates brought a pint of wine into the building and was only put on restriction for 30 days. Also, one girl came in from school so loaded she fell out of the car and a male CO ran out to help her into the building. This happened on a Friday. She was back in school the following Monday. In one other instance, two girls stole a CO's keys to the medicine cabinet and were caught red handed with medication that was restricted. This was never mentioned and they were only taken off trusty status for 30 days.

"Our superintendent has never been able to give a resident an answer to any of this, because he is afraid to give a demand to a White girl and he seems to try to make it very hard on the Black girl because of the fact that he is Black.



Black women inmates in prison dayroom.

•"Homosexuality: If you are homosexual, you will fit right into their society. If you are not, you are an outcast.

"My reason for writing this is that I think that the whole system should be looked into.

"This is for the benefit of the women I left behind who are helpless. What disturbs me most though, is that this morning as I was reading the paper, I noticed that on the November parole docket there were 14 White girls, and only two Black and one girl listed. There are seven White girls who don't even meet the requirement of serving one-third of their time, while the two Black women who are on the docket had to serve only eight months of their time, have so far completed 11 months, three months over one-third of their sentence.

DECEMBER DOCKET

"We are waiting to see what the December docket will look like. It is not true that the Black woman doesn't care about being at home with her family for Christmas, and it looks like the Black woman has been completely overlooked for the holidays. . .

"Speaking in behalf of the women behind bars, I am asking for human rights, not equal rights."□

WORLD SCOPE

Dominican Republic

Representatives of the National Council of Churches presented a stockholders' resolution at a recent annual meeting of Gulf and Western Industries, Inc. (G&W) demanding detailed information on the company's operation in the Dominican Republic. Over the past 10 years, G&W has become the largest private landowner, the biggest independent employer, the most important single taxpayer and the most profitable foreign investor in the Dominican Republic. Sponsoring stockholders succeeded in obtaining six and one-half per cent of the votes cast at the G&W meeting, enough to allow the resolution to be resubmitted next year — in the process, generating considerable publicity, exposing G&W's domination and exploitation of the small Caribbean nation.

People's China

Political unrest linked to supporters of Chiang Ching, the widow of Mao Tse-tung, and three other Chinese left-wing radicals, has erupted into armed conflict in Paoting, 100 miles south of Peking, reports *Reuters* news agency. The most recent conflicts reportedly have been marked by raids on military arsenals, the blowing up of factories, looting of grain stores and shops and the taking of prisoners. Chinese news sources have accused supporters of the so-called "Gang of Four," all former members of the Chinese Communist Party's Politburo, of provoking "serious unrest" in 12 of 29 provinces.

South Korea

The South Korean Court of Appeals last week upheld the conviction of a former opposition presidential candidate, Kim Dae Jung, for antigovernment activities, but reduced the defendant's sentence from eight to five years. The guilty verdicts against 17 other leading dissidents were also upheld, and their prison sentences reduced, while two received suspended sentences. The cases of all will go to the Supreme Court. The government's charges stem from a manifesto the dissidents signed last March 1 criticizing President Park for dictatorial control and asking for his voluntary resignation.

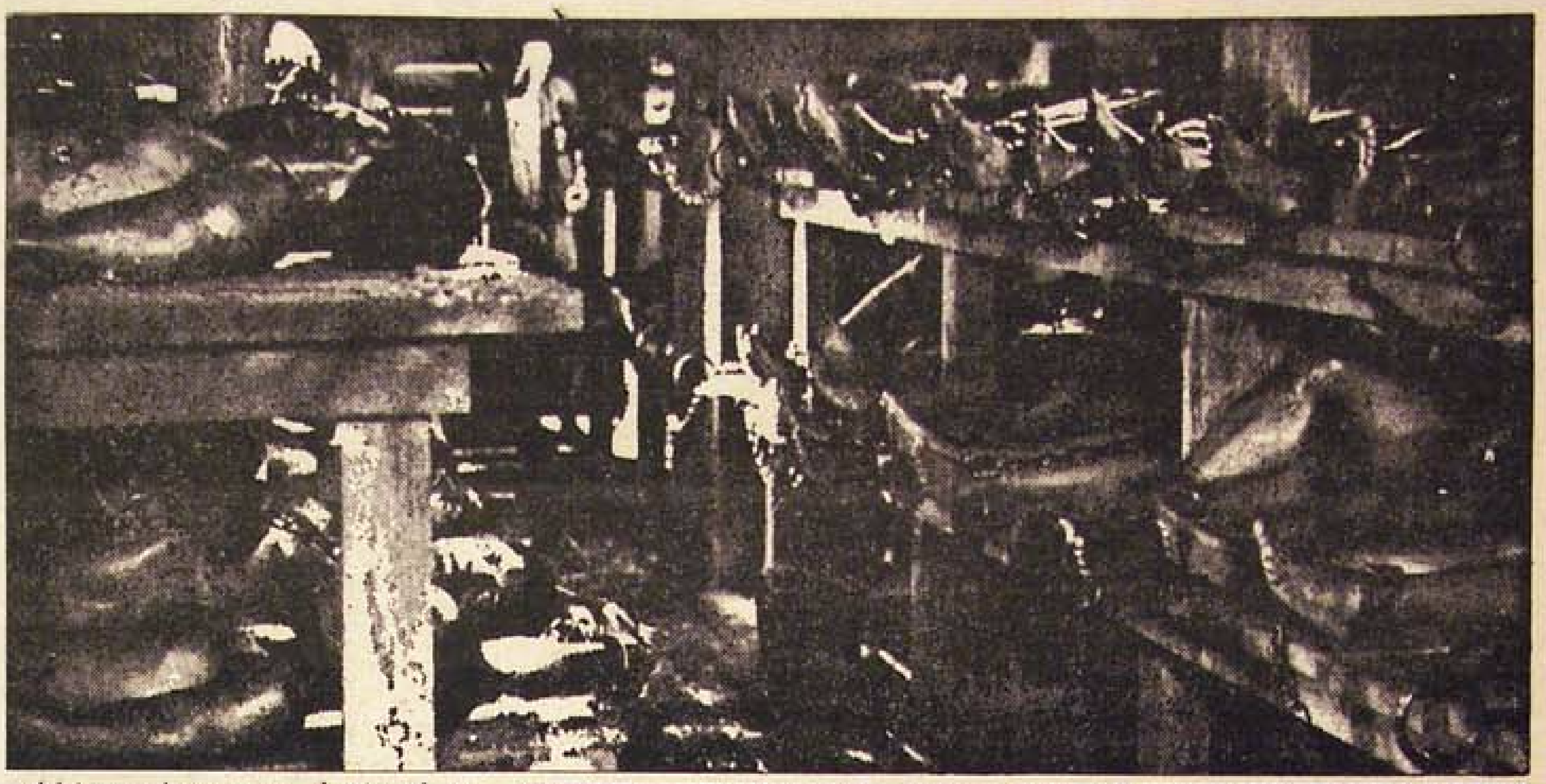
ENTERTAINMENT

"ROOTS": "...FOR ALL OF US TO KNOW WHO WE ARE"

Roots is the intriguing, well documented story of a Black family whose history in America stretches back to 1767 when its revered ancestor Kunta Kinte, "the African," arrived from The Gambia on a British slave ship in Annapolis, Maryland. The following conclusion of our review of this best selling book, written by Alex Haley, the great-great-great-great grandson of Kunta Kinte, touches on Kunta's life as a slave and the subsequent lives in slavery of his daughter, grandson and great-grandchildren.



ALEX HALEY, the highly-acclaimed author of Roots.





African slaves are depicted in cargo hold on trip to Americas. (above) and (right) five generations of a South Carolina plantation family.

CONCLUSION

Seventeen-year-old Kunta arrived in pre-Revolutionary War American to find "strange" Black people who were slaves to White people, or "toubob" as Kunta called them. He was purchased by a plantation owner in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, named John Waller.

Although Kunta did not yet understand the language of his new country, he knew that he was destined for life as a slave. Resolving that he would escape or die trying, he fled Waller's plantation four times. The fourth time, after he wounded one of the professional slave-catchers sent to capture him, the slave-catchers cut off his right foot. His master's brother, Dr. William Waller, kept Kunta from dying, and angered at the young African's maiming, subsequently bought him from his brother.

PROUD MAN

Kunta Kinte was above all a proud man. John Waller named him "Toby," but in Kunta's mind he was always Kunta Kinte from the village of Juffure in The Gambia. While most slaves in 18th and 19th century America adopted the Christian religion of their masters, Kunta remained a Moslem, refusing to participate in the "prayer meetings" of his fellow slaves on the Waller plantation.

At first, Kunta was lonely, partly because he could not speak, indeed, was unwilling to speak, English. Although he eventually learned the language, it was three years before he bothered to talk to the other slaves with whom he daily worked. They considered "the African" a strange man, but even though they did not understand his ways, they respected him. Kunta Kinte commanded respect.

After working for a time as a gardener on "Massa" William Waller's plantation, Kunta became the doctor's driver, sometimes spending weeks on the road with his owner who traveled for miles throughout Virginia to heal sick people.

PAST 40

Kunta was past 40 when he finally took a wife, Belle, Waller's longtime cook and house servant who nursed Kunta back to health when the slave-catchers cut off his foot. Love did not motivate Kunta to marry Belle; rather, it was his obligation as a Mandikan man to father children and preserve his tribe. However, he had liked and respected Belle during the over 20 years he had known her, and grew to love her after their marriage.

When Belle gave birth to a girl, whom Kunta named Kizzy — Mandikan for "you stay put" (Belle's two other children had been sold away from her) — Kunta knew that the blood of the Kintes would continue to flow.

Kunta was determined that Kizzy would grow up knowing about her Gambian heritage. From the time she was old enough to understand, her father regularly told her of his life in Juffure before the slave traders brought him to America.

When she was 16, Kizzy fell in love with a young slave man whom she helped to escape by writing him a fake "pass." He was subsequently captured, and when Waller learned of her part in the escape, he revengefully sold her. Like her father before her, Kizzy would never again see her family.

Kizzy was sold to a "po' White cracker" named Tom Lea who lived in North Carolina. Lea owned five slaves who worked his fields while he pursued his great love, cockfighting, which ultimately made him a semi-wealthy man.

Lea raped Kizzy soon after he

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Black Parents Movement Fights Racism In North London

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

The point. . .that I want to emphasize, concerning the cases of those involved in the Notting Hill riots, is this. . .There were certain organizations who are involved in community services who were in some way responsible for the campaign around those cases. It is necessary to point out two things in connection with this.

The first is the BPM and the BSM are taking a stand, a position, with regard to the Community Relations organization, the Community Relations Commission, the Community Relations industry. The stand which the BPM takes is that the Community Relations organization and the Community Relations industry is a kind of colonial office for the Black community in this country, which seeks to undermine the independent organizational activity of the Black population in dealing with its own struggles.

It's paid for by the state, in the sense that the state pays for the Community Relations industry and the Community Relations organizations at a price that is cheap, considering the extent to which the state feels challenged by this constant activity of the Black youth all over the country at this moment.

But it appears to be a new kind of objective that the state has had in introducing the Urban Aid Program. In introducing the Urban Aid Program, it gets housing through the Black organizations even cheaper than the state normally pays for it at the present moment. This is to say, what does the state have to pay for housing if the Blacks live in hostels? It costs them less through the Urban Aid Program to the Black organizations who are responsible for carrying out the hostel program among the Black youth.

The other aspect that is important to observe is the extent to which these organizations appear to be messianic organizations which take over from the people involved themselves in organizing their own struggles to deal with the problems they've got to face. And, therefore, when these very organizations seek to mobilize at some later stage around any given issue, their capacity for mobilization is not there because the youth in their court cases, their various struggles with the housing authorities, with their employment and so on, are not themselves organized to deal with these particular cases, and the Urban Aid messiah takes over, with the result that it does not allow for the organization of the Black community around their problems.



Black Parents Movement members lead militant demonstration against British racism.

It's important to point that out, to see the weakness of this approach to the question and to say why we are opposed to this kind of way of dealing with the problem.

LAW CENTERS

Equally, when it comes to the Law Centers. It is not that we are against people who work in Law Centers or even against the people who are working in Community Relations.

We take a stand because we see how they defeat the purpose of the Black community, the Black youth, the older Black working class, the parents seeking to organize themsleves to deal with their problems. That's why we take a stand against it. We point to the weakness of this kind of political approach to these problems and to the White left organizations who believe that the community relations councils are things to work with.

Denver Chicano Activists Set-Up

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Cordova has worked for Denver, state and federal police for at least one year, during which time he committed three burglaries, robbed a drug store and tried to kill an associate, Steve Dalrymple, by shooting him in the back. No charges were filed against Cordova in any of these cases and when Dalrymple attempted to press charges against Cordova, police threatened him with a prison sentence if he pursued the case.

Haro has already been railroaded on four counts of unlawful possession of explosives due to the testimony of Cordova. Attorneys for Haro sought to have the conviction overturned based on the fact that the federal prosecutor introduced evidence in the case from another set-up involving Native American activists in Wichita, Kansas. Despite this, federal Judge Finesilver ruled that the misconduct of the prosecution did not affect the ability of the defense to conduct its case. Haro was then sentenced to four sentences of six-years to be served concurrently.

Haro stated before his sentencing that the courts and the laws have never served to bring justice to Chicanos and other oppressed people. His case is being appealed.



Police informer JUAN CORDOVA

The police and the local media have openly worked hand-in-hand to prejudice the case against Haro and Quintana.

When asked to explain the prejudicial press coverage, police officials said, "You know how the media is."

For more information on this case or if you wish to extend your support, contact: *El Gallo News*, P.O. Box 18347, 1567 Downing Street, Denver, Colorado 80218, (303) 832-4915.

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Mexico

Victoria del Yaqui, a campesino group organized to seek farmland under Mexico's agrarian reform laws, has joined with four other groups to collectively work a 2800-acre plot of expropriated land in a communal farm system known as an ejido. More than 1,000 people, belonging to 223 families, make up the ejido. The group received the land as part of a massive redistribution of prime wheat and grazing land to 10,000 campesinos, a redistribution ordered by outgoing President Luis Echeverria on November 19.

Brazil

(Washington, D.C.) - The administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson prepared briefly to intervene in Brazil with naval and airborne units in 1964 to prevent leftist forces from seizing power in the wake of an expected military coup, according to recently released documents.

A naval task force was assembled March 31, 1964, in the Caribbean and started south toward Brazil, it was disclosed in documents at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas.

Former U.S. Ambassador to Brazil, Lincoln Gordon, confirmed by telephone that he had proposed the creation of the intervention force.

He said he had developed "the notion of the possibility of civil war" because of a rapidly deteriorating political situation under President Joao Goulart, who was overthrown April 1, 1964.

The documents show that Ambassador Gordon requested that the naval force be recalled.

He said he had been motivated to propose the contingency plan by study of a 1932 civil war in Brazil, and by the rapid swelling of communist and other leftist forces in Brazil under President Goulart in March, 1964.

He said none of the military leaders of the coup that ousted President Goulart was aware that the United States had committed ships and planes to possible intervention, although "the CIA was in touch with some of the conspirators."

SPORTS

MARTIAL ARTS

Movement And Footwork

Moving is used as a means of defense, a means of deception, a means of securing proper distance for attack and conserving energy. The essence of combat is the art and skill of moving. Footwork enables you to break ground and escape punishment, to get out of a tight corner, to allow a heavy hitter/kicker to tire himself in vain attempts to land a key attack. Footwork also adds momentum to your attacks.

The greatest phase of footwork is the coordination of punching and kicking in motion. Without footwork, the fighter is like artillery that cannot be moved. The value of good hands and fast, powerful kicking depends mostly on their being on a well balanced and quickly movable base. It is essential, therefore, to preserve the balance and poise of the fighting turret carrying your artillery.

No matter in what direction or at what speed you move, your aim is to retain the fundamental stance which has been found the most effective for fighting. The correct style of fighting is that which, in its naturalness, combines velocity and power of hitting/kicking with the soundest defense.

Variations of measure (fighting distance) will make it more difficult for the opponent to time his attacks or preparations. A fighter with a good sense of distance or one who is difficult to reach in launching an attack may often be brought to the desired measure by progressively shortening a series of steps backward or by gaining distance toward an opponent when he lunges (stealing the march).

The simplest and most fundamental tactic to use on an opponent is to gain just enough distance to facilitate a hit. An effective fighter steals, creates and changes the vital spatial relations to the confusion of the opponent.

ANTITRUST EXEMPTION UNJUSTIFIED

HOUSE COMMITTEE RULES AGAINST BASEBALL

(Washington, D.C.) - The Select House Committee on Professional Sports stated last week that there was no justification for baseball's immunity from antitrust laws.

In completing an eight-month study, the 13-month-old committee approved a huge staff report, reports the *New York Times*, on all sports and recommended the re-establishment of the panel for continuing the study and monitoring of sports' problems.

On baseball's antitrust exemption, the report commented, "Based on the information available to it, the committee has concluded that adequate justification does not exist for baseball's special exemption from antitrust laws and that its exemption should be removed in the context of overall sports' antitrust reform.

Also the committee pointed out that while baseball immunity was familiar to many, "not so well known is the Supreme Court's misreading of Congressional intentions in this area and the manner in which baseball took advantage of the situation. . .to fashion for itself a unique, envied and unassurable position in the business world." The committee's report was adopted unanimously only minutes before the 94th Congress ended. The House Committee on Professional Sports was created last spring after professional baseball refused to place a team in the District of Columbia to replace the Washington Senators, who moved to Texas in 1971.



Oakland A's pitching ace VIDA BLUE.

Baseball, unlike football, basketball and hockey, has been exempt from federal antitrust laws since a Supreme Court decision in 1922. However, in 1972 St. Louis Cardinals star Curt Flood balked at being traded to the Philadelphia Phillies without his consent and brought suit. Two years later, a divided Supreme Court ruled against Flood, but clearly stated it was up to Congress rather than the courts to determine if baseball should be placed under antitrust restrictions.

Since that time a federal court decision in the cases of Andy Messersmith and Dave McNally has struck down baseball's "reserve rule," which bound a player to one team.

In its report, the House Committee did not recommend that baseball be stripped of its antitrust exemption immediately. Instead, in a 12-1 vote, the committee suggested that a successor sports panel first conduct further studies to determine if general antitrust reforms should be enacted to apply to pro football, basketball and hockey in addition to baseball.

Tony Coelho, the Committee's staff director, reported that the four professional sports did not provide the Committee with sufficient economic data during the past eight months. Unless the sports owners volunteer the information, he said, the Committee might want to exercise its subpoena power in the future.□

"Roots: "...For All Of Us To Know Who We Are"

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bought her, and within a year she gave birth to his son, whom Lea named George.

At an early age, George was fascinated by cockfighting. For over 40 years he traveled throughout North Carolina with his master-father to fight Lea's prize-winning chickens. George became such an adept cockfighter himself that he was known as "Chicken George."

"Chicken George" was a colorful character who loved women, drinking and gambling. At age 18, he married a young slave girl named Matilda. Matilda and George had eight children, six sons and two daughters. As Kizzy had done with George, he told his children of their African great-grandfather.

While George was away in England working for a British cockfighter, Lea sold Matilda and the children to a farmer named Murray. Kizzy, by then in her seventies, was not part of the purchase, and the tragedy of family separation among the Kintes was repeated for the third time. After the Civil War ended and the slaves were freed, George moved his large family to Tennessee where they helped to found the town of Henning.

In Henning, the blood of Kunta Kinte continued to flow. In 1895, Cynthia Palmer, one of George's granddaughters, gave birth to a daughter named Bertha. In 1919, Bertha married Simon Alexander Haley, and two years later, they had their first child, a son named Alex, the fifth generation of Kintes in America.

Few Black Americans know as much concrete information about their African ancestors as Alex Haley. When he visited Kunta Kinte's village of Juffure, where the story of "the African" has been preserved, the villagers cried out, "Meester Kinte! Meester Kinte!" when they were told who Haley was. Recounting that experience, Haley writes:

"A sob hit me somewhere around my ankles; it came surging upward, and flinging my hands over my face, I was just bawling. . .I felt like I was weeping for all of history's incredible atrocities against fellowmen, which seem to be mankind's greatest flaw. . ."

For Alex Haley, *Roots* is ". . .a symbolic saga of all African-descent people — who are without exception the seeds of someone like Kunta Kinte captured and chained down in one of those slaves ships that sailed them across the same ocean, into some succession of plantations, and since then a struggle for freedom."□

21 Past, Present U.S. Officials Named In B.P.P. Lawsuit

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

government has discouraged local media from publishing or disseminating true information about the BPP's positive programs and activities.

A favorite tactic of the federal government used against the Black Panther Party has been to discredit Party members who are scheduled to make public speaking engagements. Privileged Party information gained by unlawful means has been provided to hecklers and callers-in on television and radio broadcasts on which Party members have appeared.

An example of this type of harassment occurred in Chicago where assassinated Party leader Fred Hampton was arrested as he prepared to appear on a local TV program. "The arrest was intended to, and did, embarrass, humiliate and discredit the plaintiff Party with the public and its supporters," the lawsuit charges.

INSTIGATED

Other actions the lawsuit charges have been instigated by the government and its agents to destroy the Black Panther Party include:

•Informing or contacting businesses and individuals that employ BPP members or with whom the Party has an economic relationship concerning its political views and activities in order to hurt these relationships for the Party;

•Informing the families or other persons associated with the Party about alleged immoral activity of BPP members;

•Destroying the personal and real property of BPP members;

•Making BPP supporters falsely appear to be hostile to the Party by "leaking" forged documents to the Party signed by a supporter and attacking or ridiculing the Party;

•Providing BPP supporters with forged documents making them fear for their lives because the documents falsely threaten them in the name of the Party;

•Questioning BPP members and Party supporters about their activities in order to "chill plaintiffs' rights to free expression and association"; and

•Placing plaintiffs under physical surveillance, opening their mail and eavesdropping on their conversations.

The defendants in this class action lawsuit, who include 21 past and present high-ranking federal officials, are charged with numerous violations of the Constitutional rights of Black Panther Party members and their supporters, as well as other violations of U.S. law. Among the rights violated are:

•The First Amendment right of due process and equal protection under the law;

•The Fourth, Fifth and Ninth Amendment rights to freedom from unreasonable governmental invasions and other violations of personal privacy;

•Number 39 United States Code (USC), Section 403, which prohibits unreasonable discrimination of persons who use the mails; and

•Number 50 USC, Section 403, which prohibits the CIA from exercising any law enforcement powers or internal security functions.

In announcing the filing of the lawsuit at the December 1 press conference held in Washington, D.C., Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown said, "Through this lawsuit we intend to bring an end to a long national nightmare, exposing that the most extreme and violent actions were employed by high government officials against citizens of this nation. . . .

"Of course, there is no way for the government to adequately begin to compensate victims of this repression. Too many have died; too many have suffered. The fullness of this list of activities, when all the facts are fully disclosed, will profoundly shock the conscience of the American people. The full extent of the federal police extermination program against the Black Panther Party,...will completely horrify many Americans.

"Very lightly, in the 200-year history of this country, no political group of Americans was more consistently and illegally brutalized by constituted authority. A new administration that speaks of the end of political terror and the beginning of an era of 'sunshine laws' and full disclosure of past government misconduct we expect will seize this opportunity to join with us demanding a full accounting of the continuing secret war against Black Americans who dare to organize for change."□



Southern California BPP headquarters after it was shot up in an eight-hour attack by the Los Angeles Police Department.

Clemency To Attica Inmates And Guards

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

correctional and legal apparatus with:

•The failure to properly plan and execute the retaking of Attica.

•The failure to properly preserve and collect evidence;

•The failure to properly budget and administer the investigation of the revolt; and

•The failure to develop evidence pertaining to crimes committed by law-enforcement personnel.

New York State Attorney General Bernard Scotti stated that he considered disciplinary action "warranted" against the 20 state officers who were singled out, but Carey claimed that cover-up attempts by the state had made "futile any attempts to secure even a semblance of equal justice for now through further prosecution."

Carey called the acts of clemency "recognition that there does exist a larger wrong which transcends the wrongful acts of individuals caught in the seamless web into which the tragedy of Attica has spun itself."

Carey's clemency actions awarded seven convicted Attica defendants outright pardons while an eighth inmate, John Hill, a Native American, had his sentence commuted. Hill, falsely convicted for the murder of a guard will now be eligible for parole this month — 17 years before his minimum sentence would have expired.□



Dead and wounded inmates lay unattended on Attica prison catwalk after assault by troopers and guards. JOHN HILL (inset) recently had his life sentence commuted in a cover-up clemency action.

"The Hole" At N.C. Women's Prison

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

herself by blocking her throat with food.

8. After taking everything from the inmate, do a thorough search of hair, armpits, groin area and mouth for hidden articles. The nurse will do an internal search if necessary.

9. Make a search of the cell for hidden articles: Never return a suicidal patient to the same cell she occupied prior to the start of suicidal precautions. She may have hidden articles in her old cell.

10. No paper napkins are used. Toilet tissue is not given. No sanitary protection is used (kotex, tampax, etc.)

(REMEMBER, A WAD OF PAPER OR COTTON CAN CHOKE A PERSON.)

11. If there are any questions of what to do or not to do, please call the nurse on duty.

You may not agree with any or all of these instructions. However, they are necessary precautions to help the inmate stay alive until she becomes mentally able to help herself. A potential suicidal person may not look or act sick. She probably will become angry when you carry out your instructions. REMEMBER, this is not a punishment. It is to protect the inmate.□

C.I.A., South Africa

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

a strong supporter of the armed liberation struggle being waged by SWAPO.

CONCLUSION

Beginning early last year, the U.S. and South Africa initiated "a planned and systematic attempt" to undermine MacBride, force his resignation and abolish his post. The U.N. document notes:

"This campaign is apparently aimed at removing one of the principal obstacles to international acceptance of a South African client regime in Namibia. If Sean MacBride remains in office, he will certainly use his influence and prestige to prevent the United Nations from turning its back on the maneuvers to install an interim regime. He will oppose such maneuvers vigorously. His presence therefore presents a real problem for South Africa and for the major Western powers. . ."

Last year while MacBride was in Zambia (headquarters of the U.N. High Commission for Namibia) various charges were made against him at a meeting of the Council for Namibia. Reports of these allegations were leaked to the press, as well as an internal U.N. budgetary document which was never meant for circulation. Also, a false rumor started in the U.N. that MacBride had resigned. The high commissioner denied this publicly from Lusaka, Zambia.

INTENSE

Efforts to discredit MacBride were so intense that one reporter asked during a U.N. briefing whether the high commissioner had become the target of a CIA operation.

With the upsurge of fighting in the armed liberation struggles in southern Africa last spring, pressure for MacBride's resignation became more critical to the Western powers. The U.S. ambassador to the U.N. (then William Scranton), according to the U.N. document, "made representations" (charges) to the secretary-general (Kurt Waldheim) about MacBride's statements on southern African affairs. The ambassador's charges were widely reported in the press.

Meanwhile, U.S. Department of State officials, the document explains, were "putting about the story that they were determined to get MacBride and that they would. They accused MacBride of 'complicating negotiations which the U.S. had in hand' (Henry Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy") to ensure a peaceful transition to

CONTINUED IN LAST COLUMN

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

M.P.I.S.C. SUFFERS ATTACK FROM RACIST GUARDS

On Tuesday, November 30 I entered the Maryland Penitentiary to visit brother Mullie Crenshaw. Enroute to the visiting room of plexiglass and telephones I saw my half (Jake L. Hubbard) whom I had not seen for a week and who is serving an 18 year sentence. In passing I hollered a greeting. When I left brother Mullie, who is on 24 hour lock up, I again say my half, and another brother who had just returned to population after two months on lock up. Through a locked grille I spoke briefly to them, kissed them, and moved on. At no time on said day did the brothers or myself disobey any posted or verbal instructions from prison staff personnel.

Two days later I returned (from out-of-state) to visit my half and friends. I was told by Assistant Warden McLindsey Hawkins that my visiting rights had been suspended for an indefinite period and that said action could only be appealed after a 30 day period. I was informed that not only could I not visit the two brothers involved — I cannot visit any inmate in the penitentiary for at least 30 days. Presently I am on the visiting lists of five other prisoners, one of whom is Black Panther Party member Eddie Conway. For at least two of these brothers I am their only link with the outside world.

The following day, December 3, Jake and the other brother I greeted through the grille were called before the Adjustment Team, and it was learned that no infraction was committed, since there is no rule stating visitors cannot fraternize with prisoners or vice-versa. The brothers were found not guilty. However — a member of the Adjustment Team announced that the board would recommend that I be barred from visiting any inmate "from now on!!" Not guilty?

I have been visiting these brothers for nearly two years. All of them are Black (political prisoners) and I am White. The officer who made the report on the November 30 incident is a suspected/rumored member of the Klu Klux Klan. The MPISC (Maryland Penitentiary Intercommunal Survival Collective) is hated by the administrators, and the brothers involved in this most recent disregard for human rights are all members. MPISC members throughout their years at the institution have been singled out for overt harassment (including bodily harm and lock up), and have an on-going legal suit against Mr. Hawkins. Recently a Prisoners Outside Watch committee was formed in Baltimore to support these and other Maryland Pen. inmates. My fellow-members and myself have been victims of numerous attempts to in effect "keep us out!"

This time — along with a racist White guard and a politically motivated Adjustment Team, thru lies and illegal procedure — Warden Collins and Assistant Warden Hawkins think they have succeeded in their vile attempt to once again cut off a life-line of the people. You can help us prove them wrong. We need your support. The only way the people have power is if we use our power. . .

In struggle — united,
Sister — Aduke
K.C. Miller

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE CONTROLS GOVERNMENT

My Dear Our of Work Friend,

As you know, our Black people are responsible for Jimmy Carter being elected the new President. And while I hope they will not be disappointed, I'm afraid they will be. For you see, my friend, Jimmy Carter may run the federal government, which is supposed to be watching and regulating private enterprise and spending taxes, but it is private enterprise, which is actually a second government, that actually runs this country. President of THAT GOVERNMENT, Jimmy Carter WAS NOT ELECTED.

Directly, the federal government has no control over the job you do not have. Directly, the federal government does not even control the amount of taxes you pay. Large corporations or private enterprise control these things. And because they control the money, neither you or the federal government even controls the amount of money the federal government can spend. If private enterprise or large corporations decided to destroy this, or any country, they have the power to at any time. I don't want anyone to have that much power over my life.

It is because of private enterprise that you do not work. And the federal government will not force private enterprise to put you back to work. The federal government, itself, even suffers through these depressions without changing one damn law, or taking over one damn corporation.

It is private enterprise, GREEDY FOR PROFIT, who is the sole cause of inflation. Or is this worldwide inflation just an attempt to destroy people, as it is doing to our Black community, filling up the jails with us — JUST-US-JUSTICE-JUST-US. "GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED, THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT. . . ."

We have a government that is at the mercy of private enterprise and those who control these large corporations, totally. We do not govern private enterprise—it governs us. You are out of work because the federal government does not control private enterprise. Your federal government is therefore INOPERATIVE. IT IS TIME FOR A CHANGE!!!!

Your friend,
Robert Earl Warren
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CONTINUED FROM FIRST COLUMN

majority rule in southern Africa. It seems fairly clear that they were in fact concerned to neutralize MacBride. . ."

Put in a position in which he was unable to function, MacBride announced his resignation last summer. He attempted to circulate a report he wrote to the General Assembly about the problems he faced, but the Secretariat of the Council for Namibia suppressed the report.

Once it was known that MacBride had decided to resign, the U.S. and South Africa initiated new moves to secure a commissioner they could control or destroy the post completely and hand over its functions to the Brazilian secretary of the Council for Namibia. Zambian Ambassador to the U.N. Dunston Kamana and the Mexican ambassador to the world body, who is one of the vice presidents of the Council for Namibia, approached SWAPO about abolishing MacBride's post. SWAPO, which had consistently supported MacBride, rejected this proposal.

The U.N. document concludes by saying:

"There appears to have been a long, carefully planned campaign of pressure, rumor and manipulation to ensure MacBride's departure from the United Nations. This has all the appearance of a classic 'black propaganda' campaign. The use of distortion and official public pressure in a systematic way is one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of covert operations against a political figure. The (Philip) Agee book (*CIA Diary: Inside The Company*) documents a number of cases strikingly like those of MacBride. There can be little doubt that both BOSS and the U.S. have been involved in this campaign."□

Assassination Probe

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

he will permit anyone to interview his client.

Meanwhile, a recent article by columnist Jack Anderson reported that Ray had "a contact" in Portugal who facilitated his escape to London after he fled the U.S. in the wake of the April, 1968, assassination with phony passports. According to Anderson, House investigators gained this information from "a witness who had never previously been interviewed by any investigative agency."

This revelation, which adds to widely-held contentions that Ray was part of a conspiracy, has been confidentially reported to the Select Committee on Assassinations, reports Anderson.□

Soweto Students Mobilize

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

other demonstrations, to pick you up,'' Mbongwa said.

Sehale Martin Muden is a 21-year-old student from Orlando West High School. He was shot by police in his elbow, hand and back August 28, during an attack by hostel dwellers on local residents in the "townships." Muden recalled this incident:

"It was said by the media that Blacks were fighting Blacks, but the government went to the hostel dwellers who are migrant laborers, mostly illiterate and living here without their families. The police went there and got people to go into the locations (the 'townships'). They even delivered them by truck. They attacked while we were in school. So we left, picking up stones to defend ourselves. . . ."

Police often raided the students' schools, searching for young people who had participated in demonstrations, Muden, whose father is a police officer, explained. When police asked students if they knew the whereabouts of a certain person, the students frequently warned the suspect of the search, he added.

RAN AWAY

"Several times I ran away from the school when I was told the police were around. I never slept at home. They had already searched my room at home once, smashing and wrecking everything in it. One of the students wanted by police — the policemen entered his home and shot him dead while he was still sleep in his bed."

Muden described other demonstrations at which police gunned down unarmed students. He also recalled the enraged and frustrated reactions of his friends. "There's a certain policeman — I can still see his face," Muden remembered.

"He picked up a pistol and shot and we saw one student falling. The students saw this young man dead and they began to pick up stones. The police kept on shooting and students kept on falling. The police called out dogs — Alsatians — and the students killed the dogs. . . They were so angry, for it was deliberate provocation by the police," he said.

Solomon Kotane, 24-year-old correspondence student, talked about five months working as a clerk in a police station. During the initial stages of the uprisings, he noted, only White police were called into action to suppress the demonstrators. Later, however, the racist regime ordered Black cops to break up the protests, but the government has had to remove some African police from the "townships" because they do not always obey commands, Kotane explained.

He said he was not directly involved in the Soweto resistance, "but my staying in Soweto meant I had to be involved."

AFRICAN POLICE OFFICERS

Asked if African police officers supported the government's responses to the militant Black resistance, Kotane explained, "Black policemen are not behind the racist ideology, but they want to go to the urban areas, to work there. Working for the police is one way to get to Johannesburg. But when they see police being shot and Africans being shot — what goes on in their minds?"

Shooting Blacks was regarded as "a joke" by White cops, Kotane said. "In the stations, they would joke about how they shot this person, how he or she screamed — boasting about it. Black policemen were affected by the uprisings," he observed. "But they are regulated by police discipline. They must always weigh what they say."

Muden pointed out that the South African press equated the student slogan of "Black power" with the activities of the "tsotsi" or thugs. "All oppressed people are Black in our eyes," Muden declared. "The slogan of many of the demonstrations was 'amanla' or 'power,' but it means the power of togetherness."

Asked whether the stress on "Black power" obscured the issue of class struggle in the uprisings, Mbongwa referred to "the constitution of our movement" — the Black People's Convention (BPC) — and of the South African Student Organization (SASO). "The BPC Constitution views anyone who is oppressed as a Black person," he noted.

Inferior education and mandatory instruction in the Afrikaans language had been the original issues prompting the protests, observed Mbongwa. "The White racist South Africans like us to think we are educated, but in reality we are being educated only to be under them," he declared. "By learning Afrikaans, we would be unable to communicate with the outside world. We'd only be able to serve our 'masters,'" he said.

Mbongwa believes that "capturing political power" is the first task in South Africa. "What happens beyond that will develop out of the interests of the South African people," he added.

Muden sees the uprisings as having "a tremendous impact" on the people of Soweto. Several months ago, he noted, people "used to talk of football. Now they're talking of repression and resistance. They are all asking, 'Why can't we have arms?' "□



Azanian students of Soweto and other South African "townships" are continuing their courageous resistance to apartheid despite the brutal repression they have encountered.

Robben Island: "The Boers Treat Us Worse Than Dogs"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

detention in Pretoria from 1966. The doctor extracted his tooth without anesthetic, and when the abscess got worse and he asked for further treatment, he was given electric shock torture. A few days later, in 1967, he died.

•"Angula Shoonyeka was wounded during the capture at Ongulumbashe, but had recovered by the time he was taken to Pretoria. There the security police tortured and murdered him. They hung his body in his cell and said he had committed suicide. Two or three days before his death, on October 9, 1966, he told one of his comrades that he had been beaten and was going to be taken back to the torture chamber.

•"Festus Nehale had an incomplete rectum operation and was returned to the section only three days after the operation. The surgeon had not sewn him up properly, and Comrade Nehale was so weak that the Comrades had to wash him and support him. On March 2, 1970, a few days after the Boers had finally taken him to the local 'hospital,' Comrade Nehale died.

•"Petrus Nilenge died on March 4, 1974, from T.B. He had been taken to Cape Town for treatment, but returned in a worse condition. The back of his head swelled up, and he partly lost the power of speech. All the time until his death he was kept in isolation in the hospital — we were not allowed to see him. The Boers refused to admit for about 20 days after his death that he had died — they said they had released him.

•"John Shipoeni's knee was injured by the Boer torturers in Pretoria. One day on the Island he stumbled in the lime quarry and further damaged it. He was refused treatment for a month, then taken to Cape Town where his leg was amputated, without his knowledge or consent. They told him he had cancer and there was nothing they could do to save his leg. He now stays permanently in the 'hospital.'

PUNISHED

"The comrades are punished every day by the Boers to destroy their psychological resistance. But brutality only helps to toughen the comrades. There is a 'court' conducted by the Boer warders to punish us. If you are found 'guilty,' you are sent to isolation cells for 20-30 days, where you undergo a dietary punishment called 'spare diet': for breakfast you get mealie-meal in hot water without salt; for lunch you get a beaker of soup without salt; dinner is the same as breakfast.

MALTREATMENT

"Maltreatment is an everyday thing. We are assaulted by warders and officers alike, then left in isolation cells until we no longer bear the marks, then taken to the hospital so the doctors can 'prove' we have not been beaten.

"The Boers treat us here worse than they would treat dogs. They try to subdue and frighten us. But we are determined and resolved never to cringe before the Boers. We will continue to resist until the day of victory. We are prepared to be killed rather than to go over to the enemy's side."□

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